

1000-1000



STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
DEC 10 1928

The Literary Comparison in Jacobean Prose

DOUGLASS SARGEANT MEAD

Pamieton

3781
P95 M

UNCLASSED
Dissertation



The Literary Comparison in Jacobean Prose

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE

FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

DOUGLASS SARGEANT MEAD

Accepted by the Department of English,
October, 1926.

CONTENTS

PART I

Introduction

- Chapter 1: Sixteenth Century Thought and Style
- Chapter II: The New Rationalism of the Seventeenth Century
- Chapter III: The Effects of the New Rationalism on Literature
- Chapter IV: Anti-Ciceronian Prose Described

PART II

The Significance of Comparison in Anti-Ciceronian Prose

- Chapter I: The Sixteenth Century Comparison
- Chapter II: The New Use of Comparison
- Chapter III: The New Sources of Comparison
- Chapter IV: The Intensification of Comparison
- Chapter V: Metaphor and Conceit
- Chapter VI: Metaphor and Aphorism
- Chapter VII: Comparison and Personality

Indeed reasons are the pillars and the fabric of a sermon, but similitudes are the windows which give the best lights. — *Fuller*.

FOREWORD.

THE history of literature presents a shifting panorama. Transition follows transition in steady and continuous flow as century blends into century. Beside the triumphant current of one cult invariably lurks the stream of its contrary, which in time, too, will triumph and be in turn outdone. A movement of progress and a movement of change are abreast.

But though the old is constantly giving way to the new, yet there are transitions which, because of their influence on subsequent literary phases, assume outstanding importance. There is one such momentous transition in the history of English prose style. No movement of greater significance can be found in the development of English prose than the transition from the oratorical prose of the sixteenth century to the essay style of the seventeenth century—from a style meant to be heard to a style meant to be read. The two styles placed side by side present contrasts which are obviously striking and elements which are opposed; and though there are, of course, elements common to both, yet even these take a particular and distinctive character from the environment in which they are placed. The relationship of these respective styles to the culture of the ages which produced them is a subject which has only recently been engaging the present-day students of prose. It is hoped, therefore, that a detailed examination of a single phase of the problem will be welcomed as shedding fresh light upon a region of our literature as yet too dark.

PART I

CHAPTER I

Sixteenth Century Thought and Style

The Renaissance is commonly regarded as the source of those humanizing and liberalizing influences which have largely determined the course of the modern world; and, of course, this is not an incorrect view of its historical significance. But to state that there is another side of the Renaissance—a contrary side—is to bring forward a fact which has received much less emphasis. The sixteenth century was dominated by two ideas, both of them products of the Revival of Learning, which tended to defeat rather than to promote the course of progress and liberalism. The Renaissance to the sixteenth century mind meant, first, veneration for the classics and, second, the doctrine of imitation; and both of these principles opposed themselves more or less deliberately to liberal ideas and tended to produce an empty formalism in thought and in expression. Veneration for the classics suppressed skeptical inquiry and lent itself to authoritarianism; the doctrine of imitation curbed individual expressiveness, realism, and novelty, and emphasized in their stead perfection in externalities. Both were unprogressive tendencies, and the culture of the sixteenth century is, in fact, to be characterized as dominantly conservative or even reactionary.

The expression of this type of culture is to be found, above all, in the extent to which imitation is practised as an educational method. The aim of educational endeavor was to cultivate excellence in Latin prose style. Rhetoric was the major requirement in the education of youth because it was held that a formal and ornate style of speech was an essential adornment of courtly and social life.¹ A flawless style, therefore, correctly patterned upon some classical model was the goal; imitation of the external beauties of a chosen model was the means of its realization. The truth of these facts is attested by the curricula of the schools and by contemporary

1. These facts are apparent in the numerous courtesy books of the period.

rheterics and educational books.² Ascham shows his belief in the efficacy of imitation in the following statement from the *Scholemaster*, p. 210.

All languages, both learned and mother tongues, be gotten, and gotten only by Imitation. For as ye use to hear, so ye learn to speak; if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself; and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn. And therefore, if ye would speak as the best and wisest do, ye must be conversant where the best and wisest are.

Thomas Wilson, in a passage frequently cited, sums up briefly and perhaps conclusively the doctrine of imitation as practised in the sixteenth century.³

Followe the most wise and learned men, and seeke to fashion as wel their speache and gesturing, as their witte and endyting. The which when we earnestly mynd to doe, we can not but in time appere somewhat like them. *The Arte of Rhetorique*, p. 5.

The statement of the theory of imitation is general and would imply that almost any reputable author carrying the requisite weight of classical authority might serve as a model. Such, however, was generally not the case. The style of Cicero, which during many centuries had been regarded as the best Latin style, now came to be regarded as the one that should be imitated exclusively. The imitators were almost invariably Ciceronians.⁴ The reason for the domination of

2. The curricula of St. Paul's School, established by Dean Colet in 1512, and of the Sandwich School, founded in 1580, are representative in illustrating the emphasis put upon the acquisition of an irreproachable Latin style. The best accounts of the educational situation of the sixteenth century are to be found in Leach, *The English Schools at the Reformation*; Stowe, *English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Elizabeth*; Watson, *English Grammar Schools before 1660*; and Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius or The Grammar Schoole*.

3. The number of rhetorical treatises written in English at this time is surprisingly large. Professor Carpenter, in his edition of Cox's *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke*, submits a list of ten and makes in so doing no claim for exhaustiveness. It must be remembered also that the same mediaeval manuals of grammar and rhetoric which had been in use for a number of centuries were still current in slightly modernized versions.

4. The details of the Ciceronian controversy on the continent have been treated by Norden in *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, by Sandys in *Ciceronianism* included in Harvard Lectures in the Revival of Learning, and by Scott in *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero*. Miss Scott's volume includes translations of letters which passed between Cortesi and Politian, Bembo and Pico della Mirandola, besides a translation of Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*. The most recent and thoroughgoing account of the whole matter is to be found in three articles by Professor Morris W. Croll—*Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century*, Muret and the History of Attic Prose, and Attic Prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon. The present writer wishes here to acknowledge his indebtedness to these articles and at the same time to express his gratitude for the invaluable aid and friendly interest which their author has shown in the preparation of this paper.

Cicero was largely the fact that in the style of this author the imitator found an oratorical style in which the external beauties were obvious enough and tangible enough to be copied.

But no copy is ever like the original. Traits masterfully controlled by Cicero became more often than not meaningless form in the hands of the slavish imitator; the imitator who was fortunate enough to become successful in copying Cicero's characteristic manner missed entirely the spirit of his great model. The result of sixteenth century educational doctrine was that it offered no opportunity for its students to perfect their individual powers of expression. The emphasis was placed on formal beauty and external embellishment, and what one said was often determined by the mere prescribed manner of the saying. Form became everything; content tended toward being of little account.

The effect of sixteenth century rhetoricism is not shown in its Latin prose alone. English prose was now first coming into general use as a literary language. Reluctantly and apologetically⁵ Englishmen began using the vernacular for the purposes of art. Slowly but surely English was to displace Latin as the vehicle of literary endeavor. The problem for the scholar, in the face of this circumstance, was how to embellish and give dignity to a language which to an ear accustomed to elegant Latin sounded crude and vulgar. The attempt to elevate the English language to a plane comparable to that of Latin in respect to purity, poise, and polish is in many respects the history of the rise of English prose. The same culture which emphasized the cultivation of external excellence in Latin wrought similar effects in the vernacular by endeavoring to apply the elaborate machinery of Latin rhetoric to the English tongue. Several types of vernacular prose appeared, each one somewhat different, yet each one clinging in some way to the traditions of oratorical prose. Like the Latin of the Ciceronians, sixteenth century English is marked by a highly ornate surface, by a noticeable thinness of substance, and by the tendency to use traditional ideas rather than those freshly invented. Whether the style be that of Ascham or Elyot, Latin

5. Ascham states that it would have been more scholarly and honorable to write his *Tocophilis* in Latin (*Works*, vol. III, Dedication). Elyot said in regard to the same point that in Latin men express themselves "with more grace and delectation to the reader than our english tongue may yet comprehend" (*The Governour*, p. 59).

mer or Lever, Guevarism, Euphuism, or Arcadianism, there is in general the same excessive delight in sound and external embellishments. Ascham's ornateness is frequently tricky; Lyly and Lever show much the same excesses in parallelism and intricate decorative patterns. These styles, it is true, have striking differences, and, furthermore, they are not chiefly classical in their forms or their inspirations. As a matter of fact, most of the sixteenth century prose types are derived from mediaeval Latin.⁶ But whatever their divergences and whatever their origins, the fact remains to be here emphasized that they all express perfectly the delight of the sixteenth century in the formal beauty of rhetoric; and in this respect at least they are thoroughly in accord with the Neo-Ciceronian style of the humanists and were fostered by the rhetorical theory of education implied in the Ciceronian doctrine. "Ye know not what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for words, but for matter," writes Ascham,⁷ as he unwittingly epitomizes the temper of the sixteenth century. External polish, pleasing flow, elaborate decoration—words and not matter—, these are the ideals which fascinated the sixteenth century mind.

6. The dependence of Euphuism on mediaeval Latin is convincingly demonstrated in the introduction of the Croll and Clemons edition of *Euphuus*.

7. *Works*, vol. IV, p. 213.

CHAPTER II

The New Rationalism of the Seventeenth Century

The closing years of the sixteenth century brought with them changes which caused the inadequacy of the prevailing type of culture to become apparent. The preceding generation had been characterized by restless energies, boundless enthusiasms, exuberances of spirit and extravagances of pomp. But the brilliance was soon to end. The gay flamboyancy of court life was undermined by political divisions and religious controversies which pressed for solution. The social uses of the culture which delighted in formal ceremony and external glamour had become, at the end of the century, outworn.

More significant than these, however, is the change in the temper of the age which made possible the emergence of the individual thinker. It is true that the sixteenth century is individualistic; it was an age of outstanding individual achievements. But these achievements had the effect of extending the surface of life, of enlarging its circumstances; and in a world of extraordinary excitements and pageantries the inner needs of the individual had been neglected. The mind of the age had roamed too far from home; curiosity had responded to too many challenges. The lore of the past was retrieved in a flood of editions and translations; an unknown world was revealed by explorers; dreams of the future found expression in Utopian speculative books. The scope of the thinker became enlarged. Yet in all this curiosity for the new, the essential, as Nisard expresses it, seemed swallowed up in the superfluous. Too much external activity had destroyed the traditional unities of spiritual and moral life, and there was nothing in the sixteenth century culture to take their places. The age had been stampeding without a philosophy. But the time now arrived when enthusiasms suddenly waned, and men began to seek within their own minds an escape from the glittering externals of a culture that could no longer satisfy their needs.

In the sixteenth century, furthermore, science had been making rapid advances. Zealous investigators in the fields of natural science and medicine were rewarded in their progress. But of this the formalized knowledge of the age took no cog-

nizance. The sixteenth century mind was turned toward the past, satisfied with fixed standards and for the most part with single unimpeachable authorities. An educational doctrine of such conservatism was incapable of incorporating in its program data which did not bear the stamp of tradition. This failure to assimilate and to keep pace with the advances of contemporary discovery attests once again the inadequacy of sixteenth century practises.

Progress in science, furthermore, revealed that for the future there were infinite possibilities for expansion by means of experiment and skeptical inquiry. But if such were to be, an attitude of openmindedness was necessary. The sixteenth century needed as its consequent an age of conscious reflection in which a checking up on life could be made and a philosophical sense of direction be established. The age needed the unshackled mind of the progressive and incisive thinker, but the sixteenth century mind was looking back.

Realizing these inadequacies of the sixteenth century culture, the men of the seventeenth century now turned to the more modern side of Renaissance thought and found there a more congenial culture. The spirit of rationalism, positivism, and skepticism had all the while been implicit in the Renaissance. It had, it is true, been held in check by adverse influences, and especially by the rhetorical dogma of the century from 1475 to 1575. During this century, however, the Ciceronians had not held dominion unopposed. There had been a level-headed and by no means impotent minority who challenged their supremacy and questioned their tenets. For slavish imitation of Cicero the opposition had sought to substitute emulation; for authoritarianism a spirit of free skeptical inquiry and individual expression. Most outstanding in the movement had been the figures of Petrarch, Politian, Erasmus, and Rabelais. Each had left in theory and in practice protests against the prevailing current of thought and educational doctrine. Petrarch, the so-called father of the humanists, had been imbued with a classicism which lay far deeper than externals. Politian had styled the imitators "slaves and magpies" because of their lack of native genius.⁸ Erasmus in

8. "To me indeed those who rely entirely upon imitation are like parrots or magpies; for what they write lacks force and vitality, action, sympathy, and native genius; it lies, it sleeps, it snores"—From a letter to Cortesi. Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero*, pp. 17-19.

his *Ciceronianus* also had left the record of his protest. His caricature of the Ciceronian secluded in his noise-proof chamber with his lexicons, without even so much as a fly to disturb him, may here be recalled. His condemnation of slavish imitation is well to bear in mind. "If you wish to express Cicero exactly," he said, "you cannot express yourself. If you do not express yourself, your speech will be a false mirror and will be as absurd as if by smearing your face with colors you pretend to be Petronious."⁹ Rabelais had departed so far from the rigors of authority as to become veritably libertine. A movement counter to the Ciceronian culture had thus run parallel with it. This counter movement, as applying to both thought and expression, has been termed Anti-Ciceronian.

When men turned in the last two decades of the sixteenth century from the culture which had until then held its contrary in check, it was not to inaugurate a new school in thought, but merely to throw the balance of weight upon the other side of a controversy of long standing. In the critical period between 1575 and 1600, the period of great transitions, a new and decisive impulse was given to the more modern phase of Renaissance thought by the emergence of several leaders who have become important figures among the men who have directed the course of modern thought. Four names stand out particularly: Muret, Lipsius, Montaigne, and Bacon. Each worked in a spirit of rationalism and skeptical self judgment. Muret rebelled from the older educational program and introduced one in which individual expressiveness supplanted servility: Lipsius founded the school of Neo-Stoics, which aimed at intense moral realism and mental individualism. Montaigne, working independently of these and in a different manner, arrived at a similar result. As one of the first modern liberal philosophers Montaigne introduced a method of self examination. "Que sais-je?", said Montaigne at a time when doubt had not yet become a prevalent or fashionable intellectual attitude. He was the first popular author of modern times to assert the philosophical principle of individualism. "Montaigne," writes Nisard, "nous prête ses yeux pour nous voir, sa parole

9. Scott, op. cit., p. 78. Erasmus's opinion concerning imitation is stated on page 123 of the same work. "I favor imitation, but imitation that aids rather than hinders nature, that corrects rather than destroys nature's gifts."

pour nous rendre compte de nos pensées. Rien dans nos dispositions ne lui est caché.”¹⁰ *Les Essais* made skepticism popular and took the leadership in an age which was now ready to follow. Bacon’s work is no less significant in fostering the same spirit. “The first distemper of learning,” he says, “is for men to study words and not matter.”¹¹ The *Essays* are meant as realistic observations upon human conduct, and a large part of the *Advancement* is devoted to the elaboration of a rational method in the study of morals. Furthermore, there is realism and incisiveness in Bacon’s experiments in natural and political sciences, undertaken, it may be believed, to bring order out of the chaos and haphazardry of the past.

Under the leadership of these men, therefore, progressive and incisive thinking rapidly displaced the more conservative. The clinging to established authorities and the devotion to the external beauties of formal rhetoric, the fetish of placing words before matter, gave place to a liberal rationalism which tended to the inner need of the individual and his relationships to the world. The contemplative man took the place of the brilliant courtier (a Bacon for a Sidney) and the wise man of the seventeenth century has suggested to many very plausibly the wise man of the ancient Stoics.

10. *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, vol. I, p. 445.

11. *Advancement of Learning. Works*, vol. VI, p. 120.

CHAPTER III

The Effects of the New Rationalism on Literature

The change in culture at the close of the sixteenth century is an epoch in the history of thought. It is no less important in its effects upon the course of literature. Thought was now intensive rather than extensive—introspective rather than objective. Men now had ideas to express and cared little for the vain show of formal rhetoric. Matter became more important than words, and the age sought literary modes capable of bearing the weight of pregnant thought. The forms of literature which dealt with pleasant superficialities were doomed to neglect.

Similar effects may be observed in all forms of literary expression. Petrarchanism with its brilliant conceits, excessive compliments, and false pretense is satirized; the love sonnet, composed of glittering nothings, has to go; a mordant skepticism takes the place of the sensuous beauty and the conventionalized archaism of Spenser; the naive pastoralism of the sixteenth century is displaced by a trenchant and ugly satire from the pens of men like Hall, Marston, and Donne. The drama exhibits the change no less clearly. The frank patriotism of the chronicle play and the sentimental pastoralism of an *As You Like It* go rapidly out of date, and in their places is to be found the intellectual and critical spirit of *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, the *Malcontent*, and other typical plays of Marston or those of Webster and Ford. The change is from a pleasant externalism to a penetrative intellectualism.

The parallel in prose to these changes in poetic forms and ideas is the final and complete triumph of the Anti-Ciceronian stylistic tenets. The movement heretofore, in spite of its vehement protests against Ciceronian practises, had made very little headway. The reason for this failure may be ascribed to the fact that the Anti-Ciceronian cult had heretofore no positive program. Their attacks were well founded and reasonable; but they were "antis" and had no constructive policy to offer. There was no type of prose sufficiently well defined to be substituted for that of Cicero; there was no definite model which could serve for guidance. And it is significant that not

until the movement adopted definite models for its prose style and attained some uniformity of program did it make anything but slight progress. But as soon as it became apparent that the Anti-Ciceronians had a path to guide their followers in, followers began to gather in their train, and the models which they preferred began to become the models of their age.

The model for the Anti-Ciceronian style as well as for its accompanying philosophy was to be found in the Latin of the Silver Age. Muret and Lipsius were the first to discover the appropriateness of Silver Age Latinity and Silver Age philosophy to the needs of their world. Both men reversed their styles in the midst of their careers. Muret states his final position when he says, "I mean to discourse not in an oratorical manner, but in a scholastic, domestic, and composed manner of our own, not meant to excite but to teach, not planned to catch the clamours of applause, but rather to win the respect of silence and attention."¹² Lipsius likewise sees fit to explain his position in a paragraph of self criticism. "This is a different kind of writing from my earlier style, without showiness, without luxuriance, without the Tullian concinnities, condensed everywhere, and I know not whether of too studied a brevity. But this is what captivates me now."¹³ As a matter of fact, both men are practising the style of Seneca. Montaigne, although with less appearance of learning and with less of the air of a program maker, preaches the same thing. "Fie on the eloquence which leaves us with a desire of it and not of things," he exclaims in his essay on Cicero.¹⁴ He too admittedly has formed his style on Plutarch and Seneca, especially the latter. Tacitus and Seneca are, furthermore, the favorite classical authors of Bacon, as his critics uniformly attest, and as a cursory examination of his style will reveal.

It was not, indeed, by accident that the scholars of the new century turned to Silver Age Latinity. They knew its his-

12. Cited from Oration 18 by Professor Croll (*Muret and the History of Attic Prose*, p. 284).

13. Cited from Epp. Misc. II, No. 87 by Professor Croll (*Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon*, p. 122).

14. Vol. I, p. 270. A passage in *De L'Institution des Enfants* states his aim in style more fully. "I do not say but that it is an admiral and excellent thing to express oneself well, but not so excellent as it is made out to be; and I am vexed that our life busies itself entirely in that . . . a language simple and natural, the same on paper as on the lips, a language juicy and vigorous, concise and compressed, not so fastidious and well trimmed as earnest and rough; rather obscure than dull, far removed from affectation, lawless, loose, and bold; every bit a part of the whole; not pedant-like nor friar-like, nor lawyer-like, but rather soldier-like." (Translated by Grace Norton, *Studies in Montaigne*, p. 250).

tory, its associations, and its appropriateness to their needs. They recognized quite clearly the familiar parallel between their own situation as the immediate successor of the sixteenth century formalism and that of the Anti-Ciceronians of the ancient world, following hard upon the triumph of Cicero in the *genus grande*.¹⁵ In effect, Anti-Ciceronianism was positively determined by the teaching and practise of first century Roman rhetoricians (not necessarily Latin, for Plutarch wrote Greek). Seneca and Tacitus were, whatever gestures of protest individuals might make, its effective models as well as its favorite authors. Other authors of the same period—Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus, Petronius, the younger Pliny—shared, of course, to some extent the honors of this Silver Age revival, but the two masters of the seventeenth century were predominantly Seneca and Tacitus. And of these two, Seneca, because he was the more imitable, was the more imitated.

The truth of these facts is exhibited in many places throughout seventeenth century prose. Perhaps, however, there is no passage of greater interest as showing how clearly the age understood its own tastes and how rapid and, indeed, revolutionary had been the changes wrought than a passage of Bacon tucked away in the Latin version of *De Augmentis*. This significant passage follows.

Somewhat sounder is another form of style,—yet neither is it innocent of some vain shows,—which is likely to follow in time upon this copious and luxuriant oratorical manner. It consists wholly in this: that the words be sharp and pointed; sentences concised; a style in short that may be called “turned” rather than fused. Whence it happens that everything dealt with by this kind of art seems rather ingenious than lofty. Such a style is found in Seneca very freely used, in Tacitus and the younger Pliny more moderately; and it is beginning to suit the ears of our age as never before.¹⁶

15. *Genus grande* and *genus moderatum* are two Greek forms of oratorical prose designed to please the ears of a crowd. Beside these arose a *genus humile* appropriate to moral philosophy and intimate discourse. It started with the doctrine of Socrates that philosophy is master of rhetoric and the teacher of style. It was influenced by Aristotle, especially by the portions of *The Rhetoric* relating to dialectic (Bk. I, ch. 2) and the enthymeme (Bk. II, ch. 22). It was molded into practical forms and sharpened into a great literary instrument in the Stoic schools of the Hellenistic period. From the ancient Stoics the style passed into almost universal usage in Rome during the first century. For this stylistic development two articles by Professor G. L. Hendrickson, *The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters* and *The Origin and Meaning of the “Ancient Characters of Style*, and one by Professor Croll, *Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century*, are here significant.

16. *Works*, vol. II, p. 127. The translation is by Professor Croll to whom also the credit of showing the true significance of the passage must be given.

Anti-Ciceronian Prose Described

To juxtapose the terms Ciceronian and Anti-Ciceronian is to imply a contrast. With regard to the styles described by these terms the contrast is nearly complete. The Ciceronian style is a style of form derived from oratorical models, depending for its effect upon the sensuous character of its appeal to an audience. It is balanced and rhythmical, yet it does not provide the sort of rhythm which appeals to the solitary reader. Professor Croll happily phrases the thought in the following words. "It is addressed, first, like music, to the physical ear; and the figures with which its large and open design are decorated have been devised with a reference to the attentive powers and the aural susceptibilities of large audiences."¹⁷ The style has two outstanding features, the periodic structure¹⁸ and the *schemata verborum*,¹⁹—in the hands of Cicero the first a powerful instrument and the second an artful device of embellishment; in the hands of the sixteenth century stylists both empty forms.²⁰

The Anti-Ciceronian style, less familiarly known as the Attic style, is, on the contrary, a style directed to engage the intellect. It seeks conversational idiom as opposed to elevated

17. *Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 84.

18. Courbaud in *Les Procédés d'Art de Tacite*, p. 236, provides an excellent description of a periodic organism. "Each period expresses an entire idea with all that expands and explains it . . . it is an ensemble of propositions of a known architecture. The principal proposition itself is flanked by secondary propositions in as great a number as there are necessary circumstances accompanying the fact . . . Not only are all held together, but each is subordinated; the less important parts range themselves in order with reference to those that are more so. The different members group and are articulated around a center. The phrase thus constructed becomes an organism, a living being whose blood circulates from the heart to the extremities, which moves with a regular movement and powerful rhythm toward the *end fixed beforehand*." The italicized words call attention to one of the most striking differences between the two styles under consideration. The writer of the one style compassed his thought before putting pen to paper; the writer of the other frequently allowed his paragraph to grow by accretion as he composed.

19. *Schemata verborum* are the means by which the members of the period are adorned. The fullest treatment of them is to be found in Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores*. Professor Croll in his introduction to *Euphues* gives practical definitions of those most commonly used.

Isocolon—equality of members in length.

Parison—equality in form of the members; i. e. word corresponding to word, adjective to adjective, verb to verb, etc.

Paromoion—Similarities of sound at the beginning or end of words similarly placed in parisonic members.

Polyptoton—repetition of the same word-stem with different inflexional endings.

20. Clark in an essay entitled "Ciceronianism" in *English Literature and the Classics*, p. 120, observes in regard to the period that of all the features of Cicero's style this is most easily caricatured. The cloying embellishment caused by the lavish use of schemes can be seen in the mediaeval Latin of the church fathers and in the aureate prose of the sixteenth century.

diction. There is no ornament for the sake of ornament, the attention resting solely on communicating thought. The three watchwords of the Stoics are applied with precision: clearness—aiming at the exact representation of thought; brevity—limiting utterance to just that which is necessary to set forth the matter; appropriateness—adapting the word to the *thing*, not to the character of an audience or occasion.²¹ Seneca, perhaps the best known exemplar of the style among the Latin writers, states its aim in several of his epistles,—in one as follows: “Let them [an orator’s hearers] be roused to the matter, not to the style; otherwise eloquence does them harm, making them enamoured of itself and not the subject.”²² In this he anticipates Montaigne. From a seventeenth century point of view the style is admirably described by Father Bouhours in his *Entretien d’Ariste et d’Eugène*, p. 59, where he says in part, “Mais ce que j’admire le plus en elle c’est qu’elle est claire sans être trop étendue. Il n’y a peut-être rien quit soit moins à son goût que le style asiatique [oratorical]. Elle prend plaisir à renfermer beaucoup de sens en peu de mots. La brièveté lui plaît . . . Le premier soin de notre langue est de contenter l’esprit et non pas de chatouiller l’oreille.”

A style designed to content the wit rather than to tickle the ears of its readers would have little use for the round composition of the Ciceronian period, and, in fact, a characteristic feature of Anti-Ciceronian prose is the breaking of periodic form. When a number of associated ideas are to be expressed, a typical Anti-Ciceronian writer deliberately avoids the rearrangements and revisions by which they might be reduced to the harmony and unity of an oratorical period. He prefers that each part of the whole shall stand out as distinctly as possible from its fellows, bearing an emphasis and saliency of its own. His connections, therefore, incline to be loose, and he often studies the omission of syntatic signs, which he regards as languid and tedious concessions to an unalert reader. Indeed, there is a very characteristic kind of Anti-Ciceronian period in which the connections must be omitted; and, though this is not the only characteristic kind, it so clearly displays the intention

21. Professor Hendrickson in the *Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style*, p. 259ff, fully describes the style as exemplified in Latin.

22. *Epistolæ Morales*, LII, 14.

of the Anti-Ciceronian masters that it may be singled out for special attention. It is the kind of period in which there is no progressive development of an idea, but, on the contrary, the same idea is repeated in several forms of statement, viewed from different angles, illuminated by different kinds of light. It is a kind of meditation, in which the inmost truth of an idea reveals itself by a succession of aphorisms, all alike, yet all different. Indeed, in many Anti-Ciceronian writers, not only periods are so constructed. Whole paragraphs of Hall, and Browne, and Felltham consist of series of periods which keep turning the same idea over and over, flashing new lights into it and from it. The best way, however, to illustrate what the method is will be to take an example from the master whom all these writers imitated. The following paragraph from Seneca will serve the purpose.²³

Summa tantum decerpimus et exiguum temporis impendisse philosophiae satis abundeque occupatis fuit. Illud praecipue impedit, quid cito nobis placemus; si invenimus, qui nos bonos viros dicat, qui prudentes, qui sanctos, adgnosceimus. Non sumus modica laudatione contenti; quicquid in nos aduatio sine pudore conguessit, tamquam debitum prendimus. Optimos nos esse, sapientissimos adfirmantibus adsentimur, cum sciamus illos saepe multa menteri. Adeoque indulgemus nobis ut laudari velimus in id, cui contraria cum maxime facimus. Mitissimum ille se in ipsis suppliciis audit, in papinis liberalissimum, in ebrietatibus ac libidinibus temperantissimum. Sequitur itaque, ut ideo mutari nolumus, quia nos optimos esse credimus. *Epistulae Morales*, LIX, 11.

An excellent, though uncommonly brief example of the broken period may be offered in the following quotation from Sir Henry Wotton:

Men must beware of running over steep hills with weighty bodies; they once in motion, *suo feruntur pondere*; steps are not then voluntary. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 500.

²³. Courbaud, op. cit., chap. 15, describes the period in Tacitus.

Another from Browne:

I was born in the eighth climate, but seem to be framed and constellated unto all. I am no plant that will not prosper out of a garden. All places, all airs make unto me one country; I am in England everywhere, and under any meridian. I have been shipwrecked, yet am not enemy with the sea and winds; I can study, play or sleep in a tempest. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 86.

Not only is the period broken, but its concinnities are spurned. Its balances of form, its studied harmonies and schematic devices are deliberately avoided. In their places appear various asymmetries which disregard euphony *per se* and attract the attention of the reader to the idea rather than to its form. It must be observed, however, that the avoidance of exact balance may itself be an excellent rhetorical resource, and that it may enrich rhythm rather than destroy it. This is often the result of certain asymmetrical practises.

Asymmetry is commonly secured by the use of imperfect antitheses, by studied disproportion or, at least, strangeness of proportion, or by the linking of disparates. Illustrative of the first method is the passage from Seneca cited above in which the clauses show a deliberate departure from normal balance. The following sentence from Hall provides an excellent example of the deliberate avoidance of exact symmetry, and illustrates the remark above that unsymmetrical phrases may have a better rhythmic relation to each other than those that exactly balance.

If it be sweet, it hath thornes, and if it have
no thorns it annoies us with an ill sent.

Disparates may be taken at random throughout the entire body of Jacobean prose. It is to be noted that they join widely dissociated words; not infrequently for example, a concrete noun with an abstract, a plural with a singular, a figurative term with a literal:

both his courage and banner together—Fuller
from their country and from themselves—Hall
weak fears or vast desires—Bacon
men's business and bosoms—Bacon

sorrows destroy us or themselves—Browne
yourself and the truth—Greville
the market of noise and novelties—Wotton

With the breakdown of rhetorical formalism came also the breakdown of purism in diction. In the sixteenth century the theory of a faultless and unmixed Ciceronian vocabulary was accompanied by the theory of a pure and standardized vernacular language; but in the seventeenth century both of them fall into disfavor. The Anti-Ciceronian displays a tendency to libertinism in vocabulary. The result, as regards English prose, is a sudden addition of new borrowings from Latin and foreign languages and a practise of interlarding English sentences with foreign phrases. The *suo feruntur pondere* of Wotton in the above passage or almost any page of Browne or Burton may be taken as ample illustration of the prevalence of this trait.

A style, furthermore, aiming to put much sense in few words must be brief. A characteristic trait of the style, therefore, is a pointed compactness. This end is secured by the varied use of sententious phrasings which are always incisive and frequently enigmatical. Sometimes the desired compression is secured by the use of aphorism. The *sententiae* or *argutiae*²⁴ of Seneca are undoubtedly his most commonly recognized stylistic attribute, and it is this device whereby that quality of his style which says more than meets the eye is gained. The two following examples serve to show their pregnancy.

Nesessaria metitur utilitas; supervacua quo redigio? *Epist. Mor.*, XXXIX, 6.

Mihi crede, Lucili, adeo mors timenda non est ut beneficio eius nihil timendum sit. *Epist. Mor.*, XXIV, 12.

The following line from Bacon, typically aphoristic, carries on the Senecan practise.

All rising to a great place is by a winding stair. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 115.

Sometimes reliance is placed upon a vigorous metaphor, a device which is doubly effective when combined with aphorism

24. See Gracian, *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*, for this device carried out into refinements.

as in the line from Bacon above or in the following line from Hall.

The shipwreck of a good conscience is the
casting away of all other excellencies.
“Holy Observations” LXXVI, *Works*, Vol.
VIII.

Sometimes writers gain compression and economy of space by forcing words into double duty. The play upon a word for this purpose may be seen in lines from Browne and Fuller.

The world which took six days to make is
like to take six thousand to make out. *Works*,
Vol. IV, p. 83.

Many mariners are calm in a storm and storm
in a calm. *Holy State*, p. 144.

These few lines illustrate how Anti-Ciceronian prose gains an effect of strength and muscularity from brevity. It is a style capable of bearing weighty ideas and vivid paradoxes in a manner self-contained and poised. It was a knotty prose, having not as yet the limpid smoothness of the eighteenth century, but maintaining nevertheless a certain grandeur quite its own. “La forme condensée, enfin, convient naturellement à l’expression des grandes vérités générales, des reflexions profondes, qui donnent à entendre plus qu’elles n’expriment, et ouvrent des horizons à la pensée.”²⁵

There remains the kind of contrast between the Ciceronian and the Anti-Ciceronian styles which is the subject of the present study. The contrast stated roughly is that the sixteenth century writer preferred the simile to the metaphor because it could be used easily for decoration and for the diffusion of an idea. Simile is elaborate in form and its meaning is obvious; consequently it could be fitted into the schemes of balanced proportion characteristic of oratorical prose. On the contrary, the seventeenth century writer prefers the metaphor to simile because metaphor has greater significance and greater compactness. It is by nature subtle, and thus better adapted to Attic prose. But to state the contrast thus generally is not to state the whole truth, and without qualification it might be misleading. Although it is true that the seven-

25. Courbaud, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

teenth century prosaists occasionally glorify metaphor as a new-found treasure of expression, nevertheless on the whole they are quite indifferent to the formal distinctions between the figures and in practise used both metaphor and simile with almost equal frequency, observing that both could be used with equal effect. For instance, the effect is identical when Bacon says

Princes are like to heavenly bodies which cause good or evil times, and which have much veneration but no rest. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 146.

and when he says

Never caring in all tempests what becomes of the ship of estate, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune. *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 113.

The truth of the matter is that the distinction between the two figures is regarded by most Anti-Ciceronians as one of those refinements of rhetorical theory which they find tedious and insignificant. And it will be useful for the present purpose to regard the figures in much the same way. What is really significant in the comparisons used in the seventeenth century is not their rhetorical form, but their substance and the uses to which they are applied.

PART II

CHAPTER I

The Sixteenth Century Comparison

The stylists of the sixteenth century in their search for rhetorical finesse were apt to lay hold on any device which could be adapted to their tastes and to their program. The comparison, a phenomenon relatively commonplace, was such a device. Perceiving the facility with which simile could be made to conform to their prose patterns, sixteenth century writers are nearly all in accord in the manner and in the frequency of their employment of comparison, and their persistent use of it causes it to become an important thread in the weave of the sixteenth century stylistic fabric. Their prose was a prose of ornament rather than of thought; the figures, therefore, were decorative rather than interpretative. No better device was to be desired with which to effect the aural symmetries, the perfect clarity, and easy copiousness at which they aimed. Similes were found to be useful in supporting many an antithesis of sound, in completing the balance of many a phrase, in furnishing many an alliteration (regular or transverse), or in establishing many a parisonic structure. They were in love with conceits, it is true; but they loved them for their own sake, not at all for the ideas they might reveal. Comparisons rarely did more than elaborate and adorn. Furthermore, since subtlety of thought was more to be avoided than sought, it was the familiar and conventional comparison rather than the new which best served this need. The comparison desired was the one which pleased because of its familiarity rather than that which might trouble the mind by its novelty or rarity.

In Lyly and Sidney, therefore, there is a panoply of comparisons used to abet an elaborate decorative scheme. Page after page of *Euphues* exhibits a chain of proverb-like statements, all assembled but to elaborate a single point. Each link of the chain is a simile comparing nature or animal life to man in a manner very obvious and very trite. The example here cited, characteristically loaded with internal adornments, is only typical of many similar.

Alas, Euphues, by how much the more I love the high climbing of thy capacity, by so much the more I fear thy fall. The fine crystal is sooner crazed than the hard marble, the greenest beech burneth faster than the driest oak, the fairest silk is soonest soiled, and the sweetest wine turneth to the sharpest vinegar. *Euphues*, p. 17.

It is by this method that Lyly is able to sustain his schematic antithetical structure. Another example showing almost perfect parison and an intricate scheme of alliteration will emphasize the character of this "adorned" simile.

As therefore the sweetest rose hath his prickle, the finest velvet his brack, the fairest flour his bran, so the sharpest wit hath his wanton will, and the holiest head his wicked way. *Euphues*, p. 10.

Lyly uses not only similes (although it must be remembered that he prefers this form) but metaphors as well. But the metaphors of Lyly fall into the same category as the similes. Drawn from such commonplaces as metal, wax, sporting, or animal life, they cannot be said to have been prompted by fresh observation, nor does their bookish taint suggest fresh ingenuity in their composition. Their use is invariably to add rhetorical beauty to a familiar idea or pomp to a description. Representative Euphuistic metaphors may here be seen.

Though all men be made of the self-same metal, yet they be not cast all in one mould. *Euphues*, p. 18.

Here ye may behold, gentlemen, how lewdly wit standeth in his own light; how he deemeth no penny good silver but his own, preferring the blossom before the fruit, the bud before the flower, the green blade before the ripe ear of corn, his own wit before all men's wisdom. *Euphues*, p. 25.

It is Euphues that lately arrived at Naples that hath battered the bulwark of my breast and shall shortly enter as conqueror into my bosom. *Euphues*, p. 72.

The figures of the *Arcadia* differ from those of *Euphues* in the way in which Sidney's culture differs from Lyly's. It is true that Sidney uses many similes and metaphors as hackneyed as those of Lyly, and it is also true that they are no more original in their conception or more fresh in their application. In Sidney's comparisons, however, there is often an apparent subtlety which Lyly does not even suggest. The following figures, for example, have no counterparts in *Euphues*.

Eagles we see fly alone; and they are but sheepe which alwaies heard together; condemne not therefore my minde sometime to enjoy itself. *Arcadia*, p. 56.

It was in the time that the earth begins to put on her new apparel against the approach of her lover, and that the Sun running a most even course becoms an indifferent arbiter betweene the night and the day. *Arcadia*, p. 5.

In the second of these passages metaphor becomes the phenomenon familiarly known in poetry as the Petrarchan conceit. Just as in the Anti-Ciceronian prose of the seventeenth century where the metaphor becomes a chief instrument of the intellectual conceit, here it is used to express the pretty fancies of Petrarchanism. In short, the difference between Sidney and Lyly is that the latter employs figures drawn from the same sources which had been used by mediaeval preachers for many centuries past, while Sidney uses figures that suggest poetry and are like Petrarchan conceits. Sidney provides many illustrations of this use of comparison—indeed the *Arcadia* may fairly be called an exercise in prose Petrarchanism. The following examples should serve to show the truth of the fact here advanced.

. . . and because of her parting bearing much sorrow in hir eyes, the lightsomnes whereof had yet so naturall a cherefulness as it made even sorrow seeme to smile. *Arcadia*, p. 6.

The roses added such a ruddy shew unto it, as though the field were bashfull at his own beautie. *Arcadia*, p. 119.

Who as shee went to the Temple to bee married, her eyes themselves seemed a temple wherein love and beautie were married.
Arcadia, p. 53.

In the humanistic prose of Ascham and Elyot, comparisons are found employed in a scheme of elaboration and decoration somewhat more conservative than that of Lyly or Pettie. But, generally speaking, the same ends were sought and the same means adopted. Here is an example of how Ascham uses a simile to round out a paragraph, at the same time providing a copious treatment of a thought which was already so clear that it needed no elucidation.

. . . but a great deal fewer of them come to show any great countenance, or bear any great authority abroad in the world, but either live obscurely, men know not how, or die obscurely, men mark not when. They be like trees that show forth fair blossoms and broad leaves in spring-time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruit in harvest-time, and that only such as fall and rot before they be ripe and so never, or seldom, come to any good at all. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 99.

Occasionally Ascham's figures, it is true, are brief and concise. But, however terse, their meaning is always apparent; there is never a suggestion of subtlety, and the comparison is frequently so conventional that it might be mistaken for one of Lyly's. For instance:

These faults, taking once root in youth, be never, or hardly, pluckt away in age. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 88.

Elyot uses fewer comparisons than Ascham, but they occur at frequent intervals throughout the *Governour* nevertheless; and, as the following excerpt will show, the comment pertinent to Ascham can be applied with equal validity to Elyot.

And like as the angels whiche be most fervent in contemplation be highest exalted in glorie, (after the opinion of the holy doe-

tours) and also the fire whiche is the most pure of elementes, and also doth clarifie the other inferiour elementes, is deputed to the highest sphere or place; so in this worlde, they which excelle others in this influence of understandyng, and do imploye it to the detaynyng of other within the boundes of reason, and shewe them howe to provyde for theyr necessarye lyvyng, suche oughte to be set in a more high place than the residue where they may se and also be sene. *The Boke Named the Governour*, p. 5.

Lever in his sermons does not make the comparison a prominent feature of his style; he depends for vividness and color mainly on other means. The comparisons which do occur, however, serve to augment the evidence that illustrative figures are used solely to brighten and to amplify without deepening a point of exposition. One quotation showing the elaborate simile with parabolic force and another showing his use of metaphor to sharpen his exhortation will serve as typical examples of his employment of the comparison.

And as they be all in one body, so none to be without that feedyng and clothyng, whych for that part of the bodye is meete and necessarye. Even as ye do provide indifferentlye for every parte of youre naturall bodye, by reason of the which, ye are bounde, and subiecte to corruption: So let no parte or member of your Christen bodye be unprovided for. *Sermon in the Shroudes*, p. 47.

Now your reverende majestie, most gracious kyng, and you honourable wyse godly counsellors, you are the chiefe shepherdes, you are the most reverende fathers in Christe, havynge the wynges of power and authoritie, to shadow, save, and keepe these lambes of God, these chickens of Christ, and these chyl dren of the heavenly father, redemed with Christes bloude, and committed unto your handes, to be saved, kepte, and provyded for. *Sermon Before the King*, p. 57.

In the hands of Latimer, however, the comparison becomes a favorite device. His *Sermon on Ploughers* is in reality

one long simile. As a rule his comparisons are ingenious, homely, and striking, but they are conceived always with the idea of attracting the attention of or amusing his audience. Whenever a figure bears a suggestion of subtlety, he is immediately solicitous of making its meaning apparent. The figures are drawn from common and picturesque sources, but never with the idea of stimulating thought. Most frequently the simile serves as a string upon which to dangle glittering things to catch the ear and to accent ringing sentences of invective or reproof. The two passages here given are suggestive as to the nature of the body of Latimer's style.

. . . for the preachynge of the worde of God unto the people is called meate, scripture calleth it meat. Not strauberries, that come but once a yeare and tary not longe, but are sone gone; but it is meat. It is no deynties. The people muste have meate that muste be familier and continuall, and dayly geuen unto them to fede upon. Many make a strauberie of it, ministringe it but one a yeare, but such do not the office of good prelates. *Fourth Sermon*, p. 20.

But the king himselfe must se this to much and that shal he do by no meanes with the corporal eyes; wherefore, he must have a paier of spectacles, whiche shall have two cleare syghtes in them, that is, the one is fayth, not a reasonable fayeth, whiche shall laste but a whyle, but a fayeth, which is continuyng in God. The seconde cleare sighte is charitie, which is servante towards the Chrysten brother. *First Sermon*, p. 38.

It is evident from the foregoing representative passages that comparison was a favorite device to enhance the effectiveness of sixteenth century prose. Illustrative figures served each writer of the age as an instrument by which he could secure euphony and lucid copiousness. It is equally evident that comparisons were chiefly drawn from conventional and traditional sources and that not seldom were they hackneyed. There was little use of fresh observation in their conception; there was little attempt to use them in illustration of original ideas.

CHAPTER II

The New Use of Comparison

The new style of the seventeenth century is as much addicted to the use of comparison as was the style it replaced. But the seventeenth century writer employs it for ends exactly opposed to those of his predecessors. The seventeenth century writer finds comparison in the moulding of his style just as useful as it had been to the writers of the style now outworn, but in calling upon comparison to perform new duties he causes it to undergo a transformation which is nearly complete.

In brief, the new comparison is no longer an instrument of elaboration and adornment. On the contrary, it becomes one of the chief resources in the interpretation of difficult truth, one of the favorite means of arousing alert intelligences to the performance of arduous duties. The Jacobean is engaged chiefly in speculative thought, and he uses comparison as a means of sharpening his observations and of giving vigor and depth to his judgments.

One need, indeed, cite but few figures to demonstrate the truth of this generalization. If the figures of the previous chapter may be borne in mind as a basis of contrast, it will become evident that the similes which follow are not phrased to effect adornment, but are used as a means of interpreting thought. The comparisons are taken at random from several authors, and they collectively indicate that in Jacobean prose comparison is a mode of thought; for original figures and original ideas seem to come into an author's mind simultaneously.

Bacon's similes, for instance, are original in themselves, but furthermore, they illuminate. They penetrate and expose truth.

As in races it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch.
Works, Vol. XII, p. 161.

But with bold men upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir.
Works, Vol. XII, p. 117.

Hall's observations are often less original than Bacon's; yet in purpose they are akin to Bacon's in that they are meant to show truth rather than to decorate it.

A man under God's affliction is like a bird in a net; the more he striveth, the more he is entangled. "Meditations and Vows" II, 1. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

In meditation, those which begin heavenly thoughts and prosecute them not, are like those which kindle a fire under green wood, and leave it as soon as it but begins to flame. "Meditations and Vows" I, 1. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

Wotton's figures are often of the kind that illuminate by laughter.

My pen is grown bold and eager with rest, as dogs that are tied up. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 33.

Fuller's homeliness and intimacy is a tacit protest against the ornamental rhetoric of an earlier day, and he has a wonderful gift of revealing open truth by an analogy drawn from a theme of contemporary or daily interest.

Some falsely conceive that religion spoileth the spirit of a general, as bad as a rainy day doth his plume of feathers, making it droop and hang down; whereas, indeed, piety only begets true prowess. *Holy State*, p. 139.

France and Italy are like a die which hath no points between cinq and ace, nobility and peasantry. *Holy State*, p. 118.

The similes here cited not only show a contrast to older usages in their expressiveness; they also show a contrast in their disregard of concinnity. The contribution which simile might make to balance of phrase is deliberately ignored. Indeed, even where a balanced construction might well be expected, the comparison is turned in such a way as to break the equilibrium of sentence members. In each of the above similes

no heed has been paid to concinnity. In the three which follow, where the sentence seems to invite a balanced construction, it is very probable that equilibrium is consciously avoided.

. . . for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative than dust.—Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 163.

What doth he with it? It sleeps in his pocket. There, we are not only at a fault, in the hunter's term, but at a rest, as if we were but playing at tennis.—Wotton. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 290.

Our writings are as so many dishes, our readers guests, our books like beauty, that which one admires, another rejects; so are we approved as men's fancies are inclined.—Burton. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 25.

The new use of comparison becomes even more significant when one examines metaphor. The Jacobean usually preferred metaphor to simile because metaphor permitted intensification and subtlety. It is by the use of metaphor that he is able to cope with deep and difficult thought, to delve into intangible abstractions, and to carry concepts to their utmost refinements. Even though the figure may be drawn from a commonplace source, unlike the figures of Latimer, its significance can be profound. If it is urged that Sidney's comparisons have the appearance of subtlety, it may be contended that Sidney's apparent subtlety is a subtlety which appears only upon the surface. In contrast to this type of subtlety stands the new subtlety which consists in the breaking up of surfaces. It is to be noted at once that when figures of both ages are placed side by side the metaphors of the newer age are simpler in form, but much more significant, much more intense.

Bacon's metaphors are akin to his similes in matter, but they gain in intensity and subtlety.

They are good but in their alley; turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim.
Works, Vol. XII, p. 154.

Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 83.

Hall likewise gains in expressiveness by using the compacter figure.

Now you are (through both your years and travaile) in the forge of your hopes. We all look (not without desire and appreciation) in what shape you will come forth. *Epistles* I, 8. *Works*, Vol. VI.

Fuller's homeliness has more directness when it is cloaked in metaphor.

As for our minister, he preferreth rather to entertain his people with wholesome cold meat which was on the table before, than with that which is hot from the spit, raw and half roasted. *Holy State*, p. 85.

Metaphor in Browne causes the homely and the sublime, the near and the remote, to jostle each other in such a way as to keep the mind in a constant activity and curiosity.

In Philosophy, where truth seems double-faced, there is no man more paradoxical than myself; but in divinity I love to keep the road; and though not in an implicit, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the church, by which I move; not reserving any proper poles, or motion from the epicycle of my own brain. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 9.

It is a happiness to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature, rather than the inoculations and forced grafts of education. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 87.

It is metaphor which is responsible for the subtlety which lies in the following remark of Wotton.

If the successes shall go forward according to the beginnings, prosperity, peradventure, may invite us further to the feast. For my part, if they would have tasted my counsels, they had long since engaged, both within and

without Italy. But I dig in a rock of diamonds. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 237.

The comparison in the following passage from Donne is simply composed, but it is much more significant than the superficially subtle figures of the previous century.

But men who have preferred money before all, think they deal honourably with virtue if they compare her with money: and think that as money is not called base till the alloy exceed the pure; so they are virtuous enough if they incur not infamy or penalty. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 178.

The same may be said of the one from Greville.

. . . but rather as the vegetable things in the wisdom of Nature do, so I advise your ladyship to doe; which is draw all your sap in this Winter of thoughts downe to the roots, and be content to want leaves, till the sweet Spring of time or occasion come to invite them up againe. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 269.

The new comparison, therefore, is one which, when measured by the old, shows much the same contrasts as seventeenth century style as a whole bears to the style of the century preceding. When a Jacobean uses comparison, the bright exterior, expansive pattern, and surface subtleties give way to realism of content and compactness of expression.

The New Sources of Comparison

Another feature of the transformation of comparison at the end of the sixteenth century is a change in its subject matter. The Jacobean was too individualistic to be content with comparisons drawn from a store of literary ornaments, with ready-made formulae and stereotyped expressions. The only sort of comparison which he could use was one which was as original as his thought. It had to come, therefore, not from traditional stores of literary art, but from a direct observation of the world in which the writer moved.

This general truth may be exactly illustrated. The following passage is typical of sixteenth century prose, even though it is an extreme case.

Now whereas you seem to love my nature and loathe my nurture, you bewray your own weakness in thinking that nature may any-ways be altered by education . . . It is natural for the vine to spread; the more you seek by art to alter it, the more in the end you shall augment it. It is proper for the palmtree to mount, the heavier you load it the higher it sprouteth. Though iron be made soft with fire, it returneth to his hardness; though the falcon be reclaimed to the fist she retireth to her haggardness; the whelps of a mastif will never be taught to retrieve the partridge . . . the silly mouse will by no manner of means be tamed; the subtle fox may be beaten, but never broken from stealing his prey; if you pound spices they smell the sweeter; season the wood never so well, the wine will taste of the cask . . . *Euphues*, p. 19.

The proverb-like comparisons of which this paragraph is composed is not the result of Lyly's observance of natural phenomena. On the contrary, Lyly's similes are derived from the exploitation of certain favorite books of pseudo-scientific lore. The similes which Lyly uses are, therefore, literary and traditional. For the majority of Lyly's comparisons the actual

sources have been pointed out by careful editors. Three of the eight figures in the above passage are shown to be taken from the *Similia* of Erasmus, and another appears in Pettie. There is little to indicate that the remainder are any more original than these.

The figures which follow, however, are like Lyly's only in the fact that they are drawn from natural history. But while Lyly's are lifeless, these are vital; while Lyly's are bookish, these are new. These figures are the result of observation. They are first hand, drawn from things seen. Instead of being mere literary bric-à-brac, these figures are real images. Bacon writes

Suspitions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 190.

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 228.

Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt and cannot last. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 22.

Fuller writes

Surely, men, contrary to iron, are worse to be wrought upon when they are hot, and are far more tractable in cold blood. *Holy State*, p. 33.

Our widow's sorrow is no storm, but a still rain. *Holy State*, p. 159.

To give court masques their due, of all the bubbles in this world they have the greatest variety of fine colors. *Holy State*, p. 159.

Wotton writes

Jesuits are like apricocks heretofore; that is, here and there one succored in a great man's house and cost dear; now you may have them for nothing in every cottage. "Table Talk." *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 490.

Every great vice is like a pike in a pond; it devours virtue and less vices. "Table Talk." *ibid.*

Hall writes

The glow worms [hypocrites] when a night of sorrow compasses them, make a lightsome and fiery show of joy; when if thou press them, thou findest nothing but a cold and crude moisture. "Heaven and Earth." Sect. IV. *Works*, Vol. VI.

Donne writes in "Let me Wither"

All this is but a caterpillar got into one corner of my garden, but a mildew fallen upon one acre of my home. *Sermons*, p. 9.

No attempt will be made to form a complete classification of the figures of the Jacobean period; nor would any such attempt be useful. For it is an impracticable task to classify the forms of reality and nature. Several attempts have been made to catalogue the subjects of the comparisons used by Seneca¹ and Tacitus², whose literary aims were so similar to those of Bacon, Browne, and Hall; and the results of so much labor seem almost pathetically inadequate. The categories prove to be, at best, simply all the categories of the world, and one learns nothing significant. So it would be also if a similar method were applied to the prose under present consideration. The general principle, as stated previously, is, in short, realism. Lyly is left behind. It is a world of experiences, not of convention and literary tradition. To illustrate this fully is the sole purpose here to be achieved; and it will be achieved quite satisfactorily if, from a host of examples, merely those figures are selected which for some reason have a positive value in demonstrating the general principle.

The first class of figures which is significant in showing the use of the world of experience consists of new images from the life of nature. The list of figures cited immediately above fall in this class, but in order to show still further the originality in the use of natural phenomena, a few more are submitted. They may be selected from every writer of the period.

1. D. Steyns: *Etude sur Les Metaphores et les Comparisons dans les Oeuvres en Prose de Sénèque le Philosophe*.

Charles Sidney Smith: *Metaphor and Comparison in the Epistulae ad Lucilium of Seneca*.

2. Courbaud: *op. cit.*, p. 279ff.

The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above and some springing from beneath. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 207.

One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 266.

It is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends also, that do exhaust the current of our sorrows; which, falling into many streams, runs more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower chanel. Browne. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 96.

His breast is the ocean whereinto all the cares of private men empty themselves, which as he receives without complaint and overflowing, so he sends them forth again by a wise conveyance, in the streams of justice. Hall. "The Good Magistrate." *Characters of Virtues*, *Works*, Vol. VI.

He is a stork to his parent, and feeds him in his old age; not only if his father hath been a pelican, but though he hath been an ostrich unto him, and neglected him in his youth. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 44.

His private affections are swallowed up in the common cause, as rivers lose their names in the ocean. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 73.

We are here only fed with certain airs of good hope, chameleon's food. Wotton. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 307.

There is nothing more odious than fruitless old age. Now—for that no tree bears fruit in Autumn, unless it blossom in the spring—to the end that my age may be profitable and laden with ripe fruit, I will endeavor that my youth be studious and flowered with the blossoms of learning and observation. Hall. "Meditations and Vows." Cen. 1, 54. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

We are *testudines testa sua inclusi*, like so many tortoises in our shells, safely defended by an angry sea, as a wall on all sides. Burton. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 97.

Notwithstanding, in short time he [the father] saw this sun so risen above his horizon, that both he and all his stars were glad to fetch light from him. Greville. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33.

A second class of figure significant in demonstrating the new comparison may be formed of figures which come from the commonplaces of man's daily experiences—especially from those common, homely acts and drab articles of use which are beneath the notice of a professed rhetorician or courtly decorator. No detail of man's life and surroundings is too mean or insignificant to be employed. He "wades" into questions; his thoughts "walk warily"; his one eye "keeps house while the other roams abroad"; his good prayers "never come weeping home"; he "courts and hugs" solitariness; he is told not to "halloo in the ears of sleeping temptation"; his books are to be "tasted"; his envies are "gadding passions"; he "shakes hands with desperate resolutions." There are a multitude of figures which are derived from the unobtrusive trifles of living and acting. The following list of figures is very typical in showing the use of the commonplace and the total disregard for dignity of subject.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world the more it intoxicateth, and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 224.

And yet I deny not but dissolute men, like unskilful horsemen which open a gate on the wrong side, may by the virtue of their office open heaven for others and shut themselves out. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 81.

The house of correction is the fittest hospital for those cripples whose legs are lame through their own laziness. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 184.

. . . patient meekness takes injuries like pills, not chewing but swallowing them down. Browne. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 101.

Quotation mistakes, inadvertency, expedition and human lapses, may make not only moles but warts in learned authors. Browne. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 80.

In the conclusion let me, as with a box of marmelade, close up your stomach with one of the genealest pieces that I have read in my lifetime . . . Wotton. *Life and Letters*. Vol. II, p. 401.

He clothes the body with all rich ornaments, that it may be as fair without as it is filthy within; whilst his soul goes bare and naked, having not a rag of knowledge to cover it. Hall. "Meditations and Vows." Cen. I, 68. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

. . . that the State was like a rich body which had lately taken physick, whose humours were not yet well settled, and weakened so much by purging, that nothing was left but melancholy. Burton. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 90. (Taken from R. Dalington.)

For I have much to take in, and much to cast out; sometimes I think it easier to discharge myself of vice than of vanity, as one may sooner carry the fire out of a room than the smoke. Donne. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 165.

A third class of figures, like the second, shows the desire to escape from hollow formalism in writing. This class is composed of images drawn from the practical arts in which contemporary minds found a poignant newness. Figures of this type are a manifestation of the new philosophy which is realistic, practical, enquiring, aiming to be useful to the needs

of man. Knowledge has now a tendency toward positivism, having its basis not in authority but in experimentation and observation. Comparisons reveal a new interest in the life of man and there is no occupation so lowly as to escape notice. There are figures on farming and horticulture with references to pruning, grafting, planting, watering, ploughing, manuring, sowing, reaping. There are figures on navigation, building, milling, lumbering, metal working, painting, tailoring, cooking, and many other livelihoods of the everyday world. The figure on the humble arts of man is indeed a familiar one to Jacobean prose. The list which follows includes representative examples.

A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 213.

. . . that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 83.

Thus the devil played at chess with me, and, yielding a pawn, thought to gain a queen of me; taking advantage of my honest endeavours; and, whilst I laboured to raise the structure of my reason, he strove to undermine the edifice of my faith. Browne. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 28.

Persons lightly dipt, not grained in generous honesty, are but pale in goodness, and faint hued in integrity. But be thou what thou virtuously art, and let not the ocean wash away thy tincture. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 63.

They who thus timely descend into themselves and cultivate the good seeds which nature hath set in them, prove not shrubs but cedars in their generation. Browne. *Works*, Vol. I, p. 63

Justices of the Peace have the felling of the underwoods, but the Lords have the great falls. Wotton. "Table Talk." *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 490.

Therefore I can pass all this over with easy belief. For when there are such boltings to the quick, there must needs be some bran everywhere. Wotton. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 295.

For though "the words of the wise be as nails fastened by the masters of the assemblies"; yet sure their examples are the hammer to drive them in, to take the deeper hold. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 39.

He is extracted from ancient and worshipful parentage. When a pippin is planted on a pippin-stock, the fruit growing thence is called a renate, a most delicious apple, as both by sire and dam well descended. Thus his blood must needs be well purified who is gentilely born on both sides. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 148.

My intent being, by this mappe, noble Lady, to make you affraid of trusting your peace in a leaking ship of humane power and affections. Because all things there are so govern'd by the two false rudders of hope and feare, as though—like the boat of Charon—they refuse no passenger yet carry they none either into rest or honour. Greville. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 263.

A fourth selection of figures reveals equally well the difference between the old material and the new. This group is drawn from the phenomena of warfare. Consistent with his general practise the Jacobean ignores the traditional figures of war and chooses such details as are of the level of the practical world of affairs. Instead of the wiles of a Venus, the darts of a Cupid, the sword and shield of an Achilles, the armour of an Ajax or a Ulysses, or the craft of a Hannibal or a Scipio, the Jacobean uses the facts of war merely as a more specialized practical art. The figures are again not literary, but original and incisive.

Raise timely batteries against those strongholds built upon the rock of nature, and make this a great part of the militia of thy life. Browne. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an easy metaphor we may say, the sword of faith; but in these obscurities I rather use it in the adjunct the apostle gives it, a buckler: under which I conceive a wary combatant may lie invulnerable. Browne. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 14.

He makes not a Trojan siege of a suit, but seeks to bring it to a set battle in a speedy trial. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 70.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 101.

I cannot call Riches better than the baggage of virtue. The Roman word is better, *impedimenta*. For as the baggage is to an army so is riches to virtue. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 198.

A fifth group to show a new source of material is composed of figures drawn from exact science. The pseudo scientific information of the past has to give way to the new order. The Jacobean prefers material within the range of his experience and now much of the scientific knowledge of his age is at his finger tips. He knows something of the science of astronomy and bases figures on the properties of the stars, meteors, the milky way, the solar system, the Copernican theory, and the Ptolemaic—for the Copernican theory had not yet displaced the older one. He knows something of the properties of metals, the loadstone and compass, and the properties of air. He knows vastly more about geography than his predecessors, and in anatomy he is now aware of the circulation of the blood. Upon all this scientific information he draws freely, not for a literary effect be it assured, but because he believes these facts to be demonstrably true. The effectiveness of the scientific comparison is demonstrated in the passages now to be cited.

The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motion of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of

the primum mobile. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 256.

So we see how that secret of nature, of the turning of iron touched with the loadstone towards the north, was found out in needles of iron, not in bars of iron. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 187.

For as water will not ascend higher than the level of the first spring head from where it descendeth, so knowledge derived from Aristotle . . . will not rise again higher than the knowledge of Aristotle. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 128.

As there is no vacuity in nature, no more is there spiritually. Hall. "Meditations and Vows." Cen. I, 4. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

Gold is the heaviest of all metals. It is no wonder that the rich man is usually carried downward to his place. It is hard for the soul clogged with many weights to ascend to heaven. Hall. "Holy Observations." XI. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

. . . with the general body is so stript of all his credit in a moment, that I have hardly seen in any chemical work, such a precipitation. Wotton. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 318.

For the lives, not only of men, but of commonwealths and the whole world, run not upon a helix that still enlargeth, but on a circle, where, arriving to their meridian, they decline in obscurity, and fall under the horizon again. Browne. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 25.

As all shadows are of one colour, if you respect the body from which they are cast (for our shadow upon clay will be dirty, and in a garden green and flowery) so all retirings into a shadowy life are alike from all causes. Donne. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 219.

But you have found and practised that experiment that even Nature out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work

to remove bad, will fill us with good things. Donne. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 166.

I often compare not you and me, but the sphere in which your resolutions are and my wheel, both I hope concentric to God; for methinks the new astronomy is thus applicable well, that we which are a little earth should rather move towards God, than that He which is fulfilling, and can come no whither should move towards us. Donne. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 218.

A sixth group comprises figures of a still more striking innovation. The freshness and originality of Jacobean thought is proved beyond question by the frequent use of current history as a source of comparison. Politics of the day (both at home and abroad), Ireland, America, and recent geographic explorations are to be found in use as illustrations. No better example of the use of contemporary interest can be found than Donne's figure on the colony of Virginia, then in its infancy.

It is therefore rather a pinnacle to discover; and the entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honorable than that which our State meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all of that country of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treasure and a harmlessness. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 163.

Several others may be cited.

The great advantage of this mean life is thereby to stand in a capacity of a better; for the colonies of heaven must be drawn from earth. Browne. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 111.

I am to my letters as rigid as a Puritan. Donne. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 165.

Yet madam, you are not such an Ireland as produceth neither ill nor good; no spiders nor nightingales, which is a rare degree of perfection. Donne. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 168.

Near great woods and quarries it is no wonder to see fair houses, but in Holland, which wants both, it is. So were it for me who am as far removed from Court and knowledge of foreign passages as this city is now from the face and furniture of a city, to build up a long letter and to write of myself, were to enclose a poor handful of straw for a token in a letter. Donne. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 188.

On the whole, therefore, the sources of the new comparison are the phenomena of the seventeenth century world. These offer a greater array of topics than any phrase book, and in their use the Jacobean assured himself of comparisons marked by originality and timeliness.

The Intensification of Comparison

A logical accompaniment to the new uses and new sources of comparison is the appearance of comparison in new forms by which its effectiveness becomes intensified. The Jacobean is keenly aware of the novelty of his style. He not only is at war with rhetorical conventions; he wishes it to be seen that he is. He affects novelty, and goes as far as he dares in underlining the boldness and originality of his procedures. Several peculiarities in his use of comparisons are to be thus explained, and these form the subject of the present chapter. For example, one of his new customs is to mix simile and metaphor in the same sentence or phrase; a second custom is to fill a passage with a series of heterogeneous images; a third custom is to use a sustained metaphor which extends the same comparison to great length and includes many details; and a fourth, one of the most significant of the intensifications, is the use of an obscure comparison which is purposely left obscure by omitting the application and requiring the reader to make it himself. All these forms are consequents of the primary use of comparison as a vehicle of thought.

I.. Never before had simile and metaphor been so commingled and fused as they are found to be in Jacobean prose. Both figures appear frequently within the same phrase with no thought on the part of the writer as to their distinct identities. Both are used indiscriminately and spontaneously. The use of metaphor to start and simile to finish an idea can be shown in a sentence from Greville.

Besides, affliction is rather a spurre than a bridle to that virtue [chastitie], our flesh being like a toppe which only goes upright with whipping. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 274.

Felltham, in the following passage uses first a simile and completes his thought in metaphor.

Like salt marshes, that lie low, they are sure, whensoever the sea of this world rages, to be first under and imbarrened with a fretting care. *Resolves*, p. 53.

Whether simile or metaphor, the figures spring to the aid of an idea. Felltham, in the following, interjects a simile into the very midst of a metaphorical construction.

Deceit is gracious company; for it always studies to be fair and pleasing; but then, like a thief, having trained us from the road, it robs us. *Resolves*, p. 3.

Hall, in the following passage, shifts from simile to metaphor and back, but the blend is perfectly harmonious and seemingly unconscious.

[Earthly delights] . . . are but as a good day betweene two agues, or a sunne-shine betwixt two tempests, and if they were long, their honey is exceeded by their gall. This ground bears none but maples, hollow, and fruitlesse, or like the bankes of the dead sea, a faire apple, which under a red side contains nothing but dust. *Epistles*, Dec. I, 2. *Works*, Vol. VI.

II. Never before, also, had there been a series of miscellaneous figures, metaphors and similes both, thrown together to form such a medley of heterogeneous materials as now frequently appears. Unlike the long lists of Lyly in which the several items are similar in character and add nothing new to the thought, these mixed figures contribute, each in its own peculiar way, to the enforcement of some phase of the idea under development. The result of the medley is to present a thought in a variety of aspects, each one of which is as important as any other. An illustration of these facts may be observed in the following passage from Felltham. There are a dozen comparisons in practically as many lines.

Nothing hath spoiled truth more than the inventions of logie. It hath found out so many distinctions that it enwraps reason in a mist of doubts. It is reason drawn into too fine a thread; tying up truth in a twist of words, which being hard to unloose, carry her away as prisoner. It is a net to entangle her, or an art, instructing you how to tell a reasonable lie . . . As a conceitest, it hath laid on so many colours, that the coun-

terfeit is more various than the pattern.
Resolves, p. 152.

Browne gracefully brings together a figure from weighing, a figure from mining, and a figure from physiology.

Some truths seem almost falsehoods, and some falsehoods almost truths; wherein falsehoods and truths seem almost aequilbrously stated, and but a few grains of distinction to bear down the balance. Some have digged deep, yet glanced by the royal vein; and a man may come unto the pericardium, but not the heart of truth. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 81.

Fuller, in the following passage, passes glibly from one metaphor to another. The comparisons seem to spring into his head as he writes and each new item adds to the growth of the thought.

Some sail to the port of their own praise by a side wind; as when they dispraise themselves, stripping themselves naked of what is their due, that the modesty of the beholders may clothe them with it again, or when they flatter another to his face, tossing the ball to him that he may throw it back again to them. *Holy State*, p. 188.

Another passage from Fuller is of the same type.

She is none of our dainty dames, who love to appear in a variety of suits every day new—as if a good gown like a stratagem in war, were to be used but once; but our good wife sets up a sail according to the keel of her husband's estate. *Holy State*, p. 34.

Another series of comparisons may be seen in a passage from Donne.

In that life one is ever in the porch or postern, going in or out, never within the house himself; it is a garment made of remnants, a life ravelled out into ends, a line discontinued, and a number of small wretched points, useless because they concur not. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 219.

Burton, too, uses the medley of figures, and, as in the case of all the others, he causes each one to add a part to the whole.

As apothecaries we make new mixtures every day, pour out of one vessel into another, and as those old Romans robbed all the cities of the world to set out their bad sited Rome, we skim off the cream of other men's wit, pick the choice flowers of their tilled gardens to set out our sterile plots. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 20.

III. Although in the sixteenth century the comparison had been elaborated even to the length of a sermon, the sustained comparison which appears in Attic prose may be said to be new. The extended figure of the sixteenth century appeared with its direct application appended to it, and it took on, consequently, the character of a parable. One need, however, only cite some of the sermons of Donne³ to show that this practise is not abandoned in the seventeenth century. Hall and Fuller, too, both are fond of applying their figures directly to life in the manner of the older preachers. But a real contrast lies in the fact that in the chain of similes of the sixteenth century type there is no growth of the idea while in the usual sustained metaphor of the seventeenth century prose there is. The idea slowly unfolds by means of metaphor. New details of the comparison accompany the development of the thought. It fulfills the demands for verbal economy, and it can effect depth or clarity as desired. Many writers, Donne and Greville, for instance, use sustained metaphor deliberately to heighten the obscurity and subtlety of their prose.

The contrast to the older figure can be seen in the typical passages which follow. Hall carries the idea of a world stage through his entire paragraph. There is an intrusion of another figure, but the original figure returns at the end of the passage. The actual application to one's own life is left for the reader to make for himself.

The world is a stage, every man an actor, and plays his part here, either in a comedy or tragedy. The good man is a comedian, which however he begins, ends merrily; but the wicked man acts a tragedy and therefore ever ends in horror. Thou seest a wicked man vaunt himself on the stage. Stay till

3. One of the best examples of this is the sermon on "Eagle's Wings,"

the last act, and look to his end, as David did, and see whether that be peace. Thou wouldst make strange tragedies if thou wouldst have but one act. Who sees an ox grazing in a fat and rank pasture and thinks not that he is near to the slaughter? whereas the lean beast that toils under the yoke, is far enough from the shambles. The best wicked man cannot be so envied in his first shows, as he is pitiable in the conclusion. "Meditations and Vows," II, 30. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

Donne employs natural phenomena in a typically metaphysical manner.

. . . for we are so composed that if abundance or glory scorch and melt us, we have an earthly cave, our bodies, to go into by consideration and cool ourselves, and if we be frozen and contracted with lower and dark fortunes, we have within us a torch, a soul, lighter and warmer than any without—we are therefore our own umbrellas and our own suns. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 220.

Bacon compares truth to varying qualities of light.

The same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not shew the masks and mummeries and triumphs of the world half so stately and daintily as candle lights—Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle that shewest best in varied lights. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 82.

Felltham provides an interesting example of the sustained metaphor from the sea with that touch of affectation which is characteristic of his style.

Every man is a vast and spacious sea; his passions are the winds, that swell him in disturbing waves; how he tumbles, and roars, and fomes, when they in their fury trouble him! Sometimes the West of pleasure, fanning in luxurious gales; sometimes the maddened South, sorrowful and full of tears; some-

times the sharp East, piercing with a testy spleen; sometimes the violent and blustering North, swelling the cheek, with the anger's boiling blood. Any of these, in extremes, makes it become unnavigable, and full of danger to the vessel that shall coast upon it. *Resolves*, p. 168.

Browne's figure of the battle which follows is probably one of the best examples of sustained metaphor to be found.

Every man is not a proper champion for truth, nor fit to take up the gauntlet in the cause of verity; many from the ignorance of these maxims, and an inconsiderate zeal unto truth, have too rashly charged the troops of error, and remain as trophies unto the enemies of truth . . . A man may be in just possession of truth as of a city, and yet be forced to surrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace than to hazard her on a battle. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 9.

Another of Browne's is equally interesting.

In this virtuous voyage of thy life hull not about like the ark, without the use of rudder, mast or sail, and bound for no port. Let not disappointment cause despondency, nor difficulty despair. Think not that you are sailing from Lima to Manilla, when you may fasten up the rudder, and sleep before the wind; but expect rough seas, flaws, and contrary blasts; and 'tis well, if by many cross tacks and veerings you arrive at the port; for we sleep in lion's skins in our progress unto virtue, and we slide not but climb into it. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 59.

IV. In addition to these several ways of intensifying comparison, a deliberate study of obscurity in its use must be considered. In the sixteenth century an obscure figure scarcely occurs. But in the new century, when one of the principal traits of its prose is incisiveness, figures whose significance is baffling become naturally an important factor. Some of the obscurity in comparison arises no doubt from the fact that to agile minds there is a certain sense of pleasure in perceiving

truth in forms not obvious; or perhaps one should rather say that such minds are unaware of their obscurity in expression. Their natural expression is condensed and elliptical, and it is hard for them to comprehend a diffused idea.

However there is another explanation for the existence of the obscure figure. Some of the obscurity in Jacobean prose is purposeful and intentional. Deliberate obscurity had a precedent among the Stoic masters of antiquity; it had models in Tertullian and in Tacitus.⁴ Obscurity is used as a cloak to conceal a true signification from all except the initiated. In the seventeenth century there are plenty of occasions (in the field of politics especially) for hiding truth behind a dark abstraction or an ingenious enigma. Evidence is plentiful that the practise was general; two writers, Donne and Wotton, openly profess it.

There are in reality two reasons for intentional obscurity. One is exemplified by Donne; the other by Wotton. Donne uses the obscure comparison in dealing with mystical truth which the uninitiated cannot understand. This is Donne's use of the word "riddle" in the following example from his letter to Lady Herbert. He treats the lady's goodness as a mystery.

Such riddles as these become things inexpressible, and such is your goodness. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 167.

Wotton uses the obscure comparison when he is expressing dangerous political doctrine, contrary to ordinary sentimental and soft ideas. In the following example he definitely refers to the use of metaphor as a cloak for the discussion of political activities.

The nature of his alteration [Sir Robert Killebrew's commitment to the fleet] was (as you may rightly judge it) in the first access somewhat apoplectical, but yet mingled in my opinion with divers properties of a lethargy, whereof we shall discourse more particularly when we meet, which I now long for besides

4.. The styles of these writers are more obscure than Seneca's. The figures of Seneca are prompted by a desire to visualize the moral principles he advocates. Hence, though not losing their terseness, they tend toward clarity. Tacitus, on the other hand, frequently uses abstract nouns in a concrete sense, or concrete nouns in an abstract sense in such a way as to invite obscurity.

other respects, that *we may lay aside these metaphors*. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 22.

Other examples of the mystery-of-wisdom type may be cited from Donne and Greville.

Now madame, when Nature in her universall knowledge foresaw this distress or taxe, like to fall upon her freedom, she, which is no stepmother to any of hers, straightwaies gave Honour more wings than one, to the end, those which cannot have it in commanding might have it in obeying. Greville. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 267.

Besides, the rule is universall, that when there is no worth within, merits—like cyphers, stand for nothing: because it must be a spark that can be made a fire with blowing. Greville. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 273.

My counsell is therefore, Madame, that you enrich your selfe upon your owne stocke, not looking out-wardly but inwardly for the fruit of true peace, whose rootes are there, and all outward things but ornaments or branches which impart their sweet fruits with the humble spirit of others. Greville. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 260.

Donne frequently uses mixed figures in the composition of what he calls his riddles. It is to a great extent the figures which cause the intellectual entanglement exhibited in some of his passages.

When I must shipwreck, I would do it in a sea where mine impotency might have some excuse; not in a sullen weedy like, where I could not have so much as exercise for my swimming. Therefore I would fain do something, but that I cannot tell what is no wonder. For to choose is to do, but to be no part of anybody is to be nothing. At most, the greatest persons are but wens and excrescences; men of wit and delightful conversation but as moles for ornament, except they be so incorporated into the body of the world that they contribute something to the sustentation of the whole. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 291.

Examples of the obscure figure used to impart political opinion are included in the series which follows. Like the one from Wotton above, several, it will be noted, are based on a physical ailment.

Your kinsman and friend, Sir Robert Kille-grew, was to the Fleet from Wednesday of the last week till Sunday following, and no longer, which I reckon but an ephemeral fit in respect of his infirmity who was the cause of it, which in my judgment doth everyday appear more and more hectical. Wotton. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 23.

For if my Lord Suffolk should remove from the King's privacy to a place of much distinction and cumber, without leaving a friend in his room, he might peradventure take cold at his back, which is a dangerous thing in a court. Wotton. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 41.

The ambassador of Savoy departed yesterday, making much haste homewards, or at least much show of it, where he is likely to come timely enough to the warming of his hands at the fire which his master hath kindled, whose nature in truth doth participate much of the flint as well as his State. Wotton. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 32.

The following sentence from Bacon achieves its obscurity by combining two separate figures and by causing the word "train" to have a double meaning. Obscurity can thus many times be secured by extreme compactness.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 247.

The intensification of comparison is, on the whole, another feature of the transformation which it underwent in adapting itself to the requirements of seventeenth century prose. It had to be rendered capable of conveying ideas; it had to become original and encompass the intellectual life of the age; it had to assume new forms to support the breadth and depth of the new thought. It will be of interest now to examine the rôle of comparison in the development of the seventeenth century conceit.

CHAPTER V

Metaphor and Conceit

It cannot have escaped notice that the quotations from the several Jacobean writers have exhibited the type of thinking which usually is described by the term "conceit." The comparison of seventeenth century prose, indeed, owes its vitality to the ingenuity with which dissociated ideas have been blended for purposes of illustration. "Conceited" thinking is a natural and logical accompaniment of both the acute penetration into the facts of life and the realism by which commonplace detail is brought into literary usage. When Donne compares a lady to Ireland he is indulging in conceit. When Wotton compares political contingencies to physical ailments he uses conceit. When Bacon compares suspicious thoughts to bats; when Fuller compares dissolute men to unskilled horsemen; when Wotton compares Jesuits to apricots, conceit is being expressed. In fact a majority of the passages which have been cited in previous pages might well here be repeated in illustration of conceit. A phenomenon which is for the most part an element of artificiality in poetry is in prose the open secret of its poignancy. The essence of the new prose is conceit.

Unfortunately the term "conceit" applies indiscriminately to two decidedly different literary modes. Confusion arises unless one is at pains to distinguish between the conceit of the sixteenth century and that of the seventeenth—the Petrarchan conceit on the one hand and the conceit on the other which may be termed intellectual. The distinction, however, is an easy one to make, for the basis of the difference is in reality the very same difference which has already been pointed out in contrasting the two types of prose. The difference, baldly stated, is simply that the Petrarchan conceit is conventionally rhetorical; the seventeenth century conceit is realistically original.

The Petrarchan conceit arose in an effort to avoid the conventional customs of ordinary writers and to find originality in ingenious usages. The result was what its devotees sought to avoid, a convention—a convention revelling in witticism

which soon lost every vestige of originality. The characteristic witticism was effected on the whole, without making the thought to any appreciable degree difficult, for however subtle and difficult a Petrarchan conceit may seem, it is in fact easy, because it is empty of new meaning. It consists of unoriginal material with an elaboration of surface. The striking ingenuity is after all only superficial, and its apparent difficulty is the result only of the clever manipulation of words. The following quotation from *The Arcadia* illustrates this point. At first glance the conceit seems complex. But the idea behind the adroit combination of words is neither deep nor original. A pretty fancy, a bright description, an extravagant compliment, a trite maxim—such is the substance one finds in the Petrarchan conceit after he has penetrated the brilliant surface.

Heretofore I have accused the sea, con-
demned the Pyrats, and hated my evill for-
tune that deprived me of thee: But now thy
self is the sea which drownes my comfort, thy
selfe is the Pirat that robbes thy self of me.
Thy owne will becomes my evill fortune.
Arcadia, p. 61.

The intellectual conceit is the expression of the incisive seventeenth century mind. If at times it seems far-fetched it is because an agile mind has brought remote things into juxtaposition; if it deals at times in enigma it is because a rapid thinker has without warning plunged into deep water. But this is beneath rather than on the surface. The seventeenth century conceit is syntactically simple, superficially plain; it is turned with perfect ease; it is apparently unaffected. Actually, however, it is extremely violent, new, and strange. It frequently startles as its full significance dawns. An innocent word is charged with unexpected meaning. A familiar fact or homely detail opens the door to a startling paradox. The sixteenth century conceit appealed because it dealt for the most part with pleasantries. It was a form of social address; it was all ornament. The seventeenth century conceit meets the approval of agile minds; it is a form of thought. The one is subtle only as regards style; the other is rich in idea.

Both types of conceit depend largely upon comparison. The sixteenth century comparison was exactly suited to ex-

press Petrarchean wit, and, correspondingly, the new comparison of the seventeenth century is one of the chief instruments in the conception of the intellectual conceit. It is true, of course, that there are many conceits in which comparison plays no part. Donne's letter to Lady Herbert provides one of them, and it is typical of the metaphysical slant which is characteristic of many of them.

This is my second letter, in which, though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst, that I must be a great part of it; yet to me that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 165.

But the conceits which avail themselves of the wealth of material embodied in comparison are the more typical and the more frequent. The following examples show comparison as the basis of conceit.

Greville's figure is extremely ingenious and full of deep significance. The actual words employed are simple; the syntax presents no unusual literary artifice; but the materials of the comparison demand of the reader an excessive alertness of attention. They defy "vulgar intelligences."

If we examine the motives that caused the man to make art to his nature, and borrow wooden feet to walk over her moving waters, we shall find them to have been necessity, covetousnesse, curiosity, ambition, and some such other enemies to rest. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 257.

Similarly Bacon takes a very simple and familiar fact from a garden. There is no display of words; the conceit is clothed in a plain declarative sentence. But the coupling of revenge with wild justice is an idea both new and revealing; and the comparison is made by one who has a fresh-seeing eye on both of its elements.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 92.

Wotton's "icles and droppings" has the picturesqueness of a scene of common life reported for the first time. Its literary effect is due to its *not* being literary.

As for novelties of State, you are in the centre, and we rural wights in the circumference and skirts, entertained with nothing but some icicles and droppings from you Londoners. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 403.

Who but Donne would think of calling his proffered meditations "salads and onions"! The homely realism of this conceit is most typical.

These, sir are the salads and onions of Mit-cham sent to you with as wholesome affections as your other friends send melons and quelque-choses from Court and London. If I present you not as good diet as they, I would say grace to them, and bid much good do it you. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 220.

The imagery of Browne's conceit is always noteworthy. It is witty in that it is always new. Simple and natural in form and accent, it hashes different categories into a sudden unity.

The created world is but a small parenthesis in eternity, and a short interposition, for a time between such a state of duration as was before it and may be after it. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 113.

The Jacobean conceit is, in short, a means of heightening the acuteness of thinking which is already acute. The service of metaphor in this is to provide a means of expressing the intellectual ingenuity by which simple facts of daily life are fused with concepts of unexpected penetration. Although seemingly innocent, the seventeenth century conceit becomes for the moment baffling. The most rapid of thinkers must pause a second at the fertility of such an idea as Browne here advances.

We carry within us the wonders we seek without us; there is all Africa and her prodigies in us. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 21.

CHAPTER VI

Metaphor and Aphorism

The delight which conceit takes in bringing into juxtaposition widely dissociated concepts is an exhibition of the phenomenon which is frequently described as "point." Indeed, conceit is point. But since point plays such an important rôle in the construction of aphorism, it seems wise to illustrate it at still greater length. Point is the *argutiae* of Seneca. It achieves subtlety by throwing together such widely different ideas as to produce a sentence which is momentarily baffling. It is by this means that many writers achieve their characteristic subtle compression. Point is the phenomenon, therefore, of packing the greatest amount of meaning into as few words as possible. It is to be recognized by the brief expression of an unexpected truth in an unexpected manner. It leaps from idea to idea, and causes the mind to bridge the gap with the proper significance. Frequently the full meaning of a "pointed" sentence lies hidden in the connotation of the words. It is, wherever it appears, vigorous and smart.

A few specific examples of point will emphasize its subtlety and compression. In the following sentence from Browne the pronouns "us" and "themselves" are coördinated as if they referred to objects in the same category. The reader's mind must leap to follow.

Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows
destroy us or themselves. *Works*, Vol. III,
p. 493.

The example just quoted contains no comparison, but the following one from Wotton does. Wotton's "market of noise and novelties" bears a deep significance. The idea of market, of noise, and of novelties is each pregnant; each starts a train of independent thought. Wotton has compressed into three words a characterization of court life.

. . . passing my time in mine own private
study than in Court, which is the market of
noise and novelties. *Life and Letters*, Vol.
II, p. 1.

Browne's exhortation to be "Caesar within thyself" is fertile in that it causes one to summon his knowledge of Caesar

to enforce an ethical fact. The mind makes an imaginative voyage before it returns to the meaning of the whole sentence.

Lead thine own captivity captive, and be
Caesar within thyself. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 60.

In the following, Browne, drawing the similarity between man and plants in certain respects, couples the words "signs" and "bushes" in such a way as to cause the mind to leap from the connotation of one word to that of the other.

I hold, moreover, that there is a phytognomy, or physiognomy, not only of men, but of plants and vegetables; and in every one of them some outward figures which hang as signs or bushes of their inward forms. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 88.

Two figures in conjunction may serve also to effect economy of phrase and pregnancy of thought. Bacon, in the quotation which follows, gets point by setting up an image of the Holy Ghost as a "vulture or raven," and then, by the aid of a metaphor, shedding upon that image all the blackness which the conception of piracy can afford.

Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 91.

Perhaps one of the most prevalent stylistic traits in Jacobean prose is the use of aphorism. There is a predilection for the terse, sententious statement, couched in phrases of vigor and smartness. Aphorism is a favorite formula by which to put up panaceas of worldly wisdom.⁵ Dr. English⁶ has shown the significance of the commonplace book in the formation of Attic style, and has demonstrated that the aphorisms which such books contain are the core around which much of the prose is built.

Aphorism itself is attained by a meeting and reconciling of disparate things in one conception. Two ideas, usually very dissociated ones, are brought together in a pithy sentence

5. Lanson in *L'Art de la Prose* treats the aphorism or *pensée* as a definite prose type.

6. T. H. English: *The Prose of the Stoic Revival*.

which resolves itself into a moral truth. It is point which provides the disparateness of the ideas, and the cleverness and force of the aphorism in largely dependent upon its point.

Metaphor in aphorism is almost a vital asset to its composition. Aphorisms which are based on pithy comparisons are found in most abundance for the reason that effectiveness demands that moral abstraction can be combined with concrete application. Furthermore, it is metaphor which nearly always gives aphorism its point. In the comparison of two unrelated things the mind is called upon to leap from one pole to another before it settles upon the application which results from the reconciliation. Metaphor contributes point here in much the same manner that it contributes to conceit, but it is to be noted that while many aphorisms are conceits, the term conceit does not imply aphorism. Many of the following aphorisms are conceits; they all contain point, and the point is derived from metaphor.

In the following line Bacon compares a judge to a cymbal. The comparison brings together the two dissociated phenomena and secures point. Each term is full of suggestion and the sentence carries more weight than appears on the surface.

An overspeaking judge is no well-tuned
cymbal. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 262.

The same may be said in regard to Hall's association of prayers and weeping persons. The comparison causes the reader to visualize two concepts and to make a reconciliation. But it is the comparison which provides the point.

Good prayers never come weeping home.
"Meditations and Vows." Cen. I, 49.
Works, Vol. VIII.

The following aphorisms are typical for conceit and point to which metaphor is the chief contributing factor.

He that plots to be the only figure amongst
ciphers is the decay of a whole age. Bacon.
Works, Vol. XII, p. 208.

Money is like muck, not good except it be
spread. Bacon. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 163.

Bear not too slack reins upon pleasure.
Browne. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 109.

The race of delight is short and pleasures
have mutable faces. Browne. *Works*, Vol.
IV, p. 79.

'Tis madness to halloo in the ears of sleep-
ing temptation. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 121.

It is unnatural for a man to court and hug
solitariness. Fuller. *Holy State*, p. 193.

Arrogance is a weed that ever grows in a
dunghill. Fellthan. *Resolves*, p. 12.

Every nature is not a fit Stock to graft a
Scholar on. Wotton. "Aphorisms of Edu-
cation." *Wottonianae Reliquiae* p. 86 ff.

Somewhat of a gentleman gives a tincture to
a scholar, too much stains him. Wotton.
"Aphorisms of Education," *ibid*.

Money is nothing but a thing that art hath
turned up trump. Wotton. "Table Talk."?
Life and Letters, Vol. II, p. 490.

If now the evidence which has been gathered in the pre-
ceding pages be not deceptive, the conclusion seems warranted
that the thought of the Jacobean Age, differing radically from
that of the age preceding, creeps into its illustrative material
to such an extent that comparison becomes more inclusive and
fresher in content. Equally true is the fact that Attic prose
finds in comparison an asset to each of its several traits. It is
comparison which voices clearness of intellect and renders
imagery concrete; it is comparison which articulates life. The
study may now be carried a step further. Comparison as used
individually by several of the leading writers serves to dem-
onstrate still more conclusively the fact that in Attic prose it
becomes an indispensable medium of expression.

CHAPTER VII

Comparison and Personality

The axiom that style is an expression of personality is undoubtedly true. Ruskin's challenge, "Tell me what you like and I'll tell you what you are," might without difficulty be translated into, "Show me how you write and I'll tell you your philosophic temperament." Individualism in style, therefore, is as marked and as varied as the range of human personality. There may be kinships of remarkable closeness; family resemblances may be indelible; but individuality even in twin brothers can not be effaced.

The writers of the Attic style reveal (to continue the figure) a close family resemblance. Analysis has shown that every writer heretofore considered has utilized in common with his confreres each of the Attic characteristics. Illustrations of traits peculiar to the Attic style have without difficulty been drawn from each principal writer of the period. Metaphors as a means of securing incisiveness have been cited from Bacon, Hall, Wotton, Fuller, Browne, and Burton. Similarly comparisons as the basis of conceit and point have readily been taken from the same group of writers. Yet having even so many features in common as they do, the styles of these men remain distinctly individual. The personality of the writer, a temperament as truly peculiar to himself as his thumb print, finds expression in his style. The styles of Bacon and Donne are as different, perhaps, as the styles of brothers possibly could be. The work of Hall and Wotton each has a spice as different as ginger is from cloves. The peculiar quaintness of Greville, Browne, and Burton would not suffer the slightest confusion of identity under the examination of the merest tyro.

Resemblances are many, but the differences are greater. Each writer has the distinction of being an independent thinker. He has this trait in common with his brothers, but because he is an independent thinker he must of necessity have a different philosophy. And because of his different philosophy he will be led to seek the best expression for his peculiar type of thinking regardless of the literary fashion of his contemporaries. The Attic style presents him with a vehicle suited for his needs in general, but he will select the particular

elements of this style best suited for his special needs, and these elements, in consequence of his choices, will become the dominant features of his self expression. According to his mind, be it practical or whimsical, ethical or metaphysical, he will choose from or modify the typical Attic elements and thus produce a style truly his own and expressive of the personality which calls it into being.

No better index to the quality of a writer's personality may be discovered than the choice he makes of illustrative materials. Comparisons show the breadth and focus of a mind. Comparisons which are dominant in the style of one writer will necessarily be found to be less dominant in another. Figures of speech best adapted to the expression of a Baconian idea would be in uncongenial surroundings if they were thrust into the atmosphere of Browne. The homely conceits of Fuller, for example, would appear as incongruities in Greville. Likewise the whimsical comparisons of Burton would be unwelcome intruders on the pages of Donne. In this light the inquiry in regard to what manner of comparisons the Jacobean as individuals choose as the expression of their distinct personalities seems urgent. The preferences of nine prominent writers of the Jacobean Age are now to be determined. The nine selected for examination are Bacon, Wotton, Greville, Donne, Hall, Felltham, Fuller, Burton, and Browne.

Bacon

The personality of Francis Bacon is dominated by practicality. His philosophy is a practical philosophy; his scientific endeavors are practical endeavors; his statesmanship is a practical statesmanship; his ethics are practical ethics. Practicality, too, dominates his prose style. Ideas intended for men of affairs to take to their "business and bosoms" call for a vocabulary of plain utilitarian words. His pretention was to disregard literary effects, to choose only words which are capable of bearing the weight of ideas. "Neither was he," says his first biographer, "given to any light conceits or descanting upon words, but did ever purposely and industriously avoid them."⁷

7. *Works*, Vol. I, p. 48.

Yet in spite of the avoidance of the embellishments of rhetoric, a tone of dignity enters and pervades the Baconian style. The march of many stately ideas in close ranks gives a certain pomp to his prose which his own ear caught and which he consciously endeavored to maintain. As a result of this consciousness the later editions of the *Essays* possess an easier flow than the earlier ones have, for the earlier ones were obviously too purely aphoristic. Yet his prose is never anything but difficult and dense. It is thought-laden to capacity, and the thoughts, too, are of such a nature as to baffle easy and rapid comprehension. The reading of Bacon is always an exercise for the mind.

The quality of the comparisons which Bacon chooses is almost unvarying. There is little difference in the quality of the figurative language which appears in the early editions of the *Essays* and that which is added in the revisions of a later date. Usually the figures are of such a nature as to increase the subtlety of the prose rather than to lighten its weight. Illustration serves not to elucidate so much as to suggest subtler and more far-reaching significations of the idea than at first appeared.

The form of the Baconian figure is most frequently the terse metaphor or compact simile of an aphoristic character. Terseness frequently results in point, and keen thinking often envelops an idea with a clever conceit. Both point and conceit, however, in spite of their usual concreteness, cannot be said to produce simplicity. Occasionally the sustained metaphor is found, but its use is not to illustrate and clarify so much as to secure economy of phrase. Occasionally, too, the figures assume a subtlety so dark that their effect is obscurity.

The character of Bacon's figures indicates that they are an integral part of his style. That Bacon used them consciously and thoughtfully to add strength and dignity to his prose is apparent. The few figures here assembled will show the individual stamp which Bacon puts upon them. These are offered in addition to those scattered through the previous pages with the purpose of isolating and emphasizing the personal note in the Baconian comparison.

In the expression of some bit of practical wisdom or some shrewd observation on life, Bacon almost invariably provides an illustration which seems to spring naturally and spontaneously to his mind. His comparisons in this category never bear the taint of studiousness. The following figure, based upon a mere commonplace in life's daily round, enforces an idea about the military world. The coupling of the two ideas apparently suggested itself without conscious deliberation on Bacon's part. But in spite of the ease by which it came into Bacon's mind, it fails to make the idea any more comprehensible to the reader. A reader's mind must summon its resources to make the comparison with Bacon. The likeness so apparent to Bacon is not immediately obvious to any one else.

In militar commanders and soldiers vain glory is an essential point, for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 261.

The following terse simile is spontaneous and practical, but the likeness between the two things compared is only obvious after a moment's pause.

Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for a race. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 113.

Bacon's comparisons never become complicated. In form at least they are always simple, and the simplicity is maintained largely by his constant use of commonplace topics as the basis of his figures. Many of his illustrations are drawn from the activities of everyday life or from the storehouse of common knowledge. The following comparison makes use of the pursuit of horticulture.

Natural abilities are like natural plants that need proyning by study. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 252.

No matter from what field he draws his observation, be it war, business, or ethics, his illustration strikes familiar ground. The coupling of some simple fact with some unexpectedly foreign idea is the basic quality of the figure. The following figure combines a commonplace fact about health with a fact

about war, and, as far as one knows, the association is new. But in the new association lies not only the charm but the strength of the figure. The added charm and strength undoubtedly was welcome, and in all probability the comparison is here made with deliberation.

A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever,
but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise
and serveth to keep the body in health.
Works, Vol. XII, p. 185.

Bacon's interest in science is frequently apparent, and to the truths of natural science he finds many parallels in ethical precepts.

As in nature things move violently to their
place and calmly in their place, so virtue in
ambition is violent, in authority settled and
calm. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 115.

Even though the characteristic basis for the majority of Bacon's figures is some commonplace phenomenon, the association of this phenomenon with a foreign idea is usually made in such a way as to produce obscurity. In spite of the innocent appearance of the two following examples, there is an element of obscurity as to their exact significations.

There be that can pack the cards and yet
cannot play well. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 153.

Men mark when they hit and never mark
when they miss. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 206.

An example of one of Bacon's sustained figures follows. It starts with an aphoristic conceit and then keeps up the metaphor in elaboration. The metaphor undoubtedly strengthens and enforces the idea, but it does not simplify it.

Behavior seemeth to me as a garment. For
it ought to be made in fashion; it ought not
to be too curious; it ought to be shaped as to
set forth any good making of the mind, and
hide any deformity, and above all, it ought
not to be too strait or restrained for exercise
or motion. *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 350.

Bacon employs point many times by pairing words of different connotations. The reader, in the following excerpt,

must halt before "mates and masters." If he rushes on he will surely fail to grasp the full significance of these two important words.

It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of men so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 85.

The following, too, has the quality of point.

Friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. *Works*, Vol. XII, p. 170.

Thus the Baconian figure is instinct with Bacon's characteristic practicality. Drawn from the commonplaces of human experience their range is the range of life. Practical life furnishes Bacon with an ample supply of illustrative topics. But when associating simple fact with more or less abstract ideas, he hits upon likenesses which although genuinely true are not immediately obvious. Figures enrich, augment, sharpen, but scarcely ever simplify or clarify. They serve to add incisiveness rather than literary grace.

Wotton

The style of Sir Henry Wotton and that of Francis Bacon have certain points of similarity. Wotton's prose, like Bacon's, is business-like and practical, yet by no means easy. Weighty ideas are expressed straightforwardly, and there is no sugar coating for the difficult pills. But the styles, nevertheless, could be mistaken or confused by no one. Each style is individual and personal, and after due deliberation one might in justice say that the difference lies almost wholly in the quality of the figurative language.

Wotton, like Bacon, uses many terse similes of an aphoristic nature, but Wotton prefers metaphor while Bacon uses both indiscriminately. It is by metaphor particularly, at times terse and at times sustained, that Wotton secures conscious

obscurity in political disquisitions. The greatest difference from Bacon, however, is not one of form but a difference which lies in the texture of the figures themselves. The sources of the comparisons are less matter-of-fact. Instead of being drawn from the ordinary experiences of the every-day world, the comparisons rise from more out-of-the-way observations. There is a touch of wit in their conception; there is much in them that shows "conceited" thinking; there is a suggestion of deliberation in the choice of strange and unexpected details to serve as illustrations. The result is that Wotton's figures are perhaps less spontaneous but more sparkling than Bacon's, although the sparkle never vitiates their incisiveness.

The aphorisms in "Table Talk" and in "Aphorisms of Education" are full of bright metaphors; but they are not only bright; they penetrate. Wittiness and depth combined may be seen in the following examples.

Flattery is increased from a pillow under the elbow to a bed under the whole body. "Table Talk." *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 490.

Sentences in authors, like hairs in a horses tail, concur in one root of beauty and strength, but being plucked out one by one, serve only for springes and snares. "Table Talk," *ibid.*

There is evidence of mental ingenuity in the manner in which pressing irons are brought into service in the following figure.

So I see your worldly troubles have been but pressing irons to your heavenly cogitations. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 370.

The following example is a homely conceit, pointed and expressive, but its very homeliness is evidence that it is hand-picked.

But my intelligences are cistern waters, you are nearer the Fountain. *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, p. 449.

The play of wit is to be noted in the following figure also.

In the meanwhile I have adventured these few lines to break the ice of silence, for in truth it is a cold fault. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 82.

When speaking of affairs of state Wotton continually employs metaphor. Often there is ambiguity enough in the figures to prove innocence in case of official apprehension; often the true meaning is to be taken only by the initiated. The favorite figure conveying political fact is the metaphor based on physical health, but this is not invariably adopted. The two following figures are of the most simple of Wotton's comparisons dealing with politics.

For first it [Parliament] is aborted before it was born and nullified after it had a being.
Life and Letters, Vol. II, p. 36.

Some think the Parliament doth yet hang upon a thread, and may be stitched together again. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 318.

The following is a figure characteristically on health, this time directed to the affairs of statesmen rather than to affairs of state. But it shows, nevertheless, a very favorite type of figure.

The interposing of a little philosophical diet may, perchance, lighten a man's spirits, surcharged with public thoughts and prevent a surfeit of state. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 318.

In some of his longer figures Wotton pursues a parallelism to a degree suggestive of Donne's refinements.

I must now acknowledge it true which our navigator's tell us, that there be indeed certain variations of the compass, for I think there was never point of a needle better touched than you have touched me, having ever since I parted from you been looking towards you, and yet still by something or another, I am put out of my course. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 13.

Wotton was evidently fond of this next figure, for he used it in two letters. It is also typical of his longer metaphors.

It [book] was printed sheet by sheet as fast as it was born, and it was born as soon as it was conceived; so as it must needs have im-

perfections and deformities of an immature birth, besides the weakness of the parent.
Life and Letters, Vol. II, p. 284.

Wotton's figures are thus more unusual in their texture than Bacon's and perhaps more brilliant, but it is to be noted that they effect clarity in no greater degree than those of Bacon. On the contrary their ingenuity stimulates thought to a greater degree than Bacon's do, and they produce obscurity more often. The play of wit detracts to some extent from the dignity characteristic of Bacon, but Wotton's prose, in spite of a certain amount of glibness, stands also as a prose of sharp incisiveness.

Greville and Donne

The prose of Fulke Greville and the prose of John Donne have so much in common that it is well to treat them in the same section. Both Greville and Donne are thinkers who enjoy abstractions. They both indulge in a certain indirectness of expression which results in mystery. Deliberate obscurity in prose is in these two writers found at its height. The play of the intellect on the less practical and more metaphysical aspects of life is mirrored on the written page, for it is not a practical ethics which fascinates these men, but an introspection which is more purely philosophical.

The prose of both writers is permeated with metaphor—metaphor which here even more than with Bacon or Wotton serves not as an illuminating ray of light but rather as a veil through which the reader must penetrate to reach the truth. Metaphor is the door which opens to the reader who cares to enter a world of abstract and mystical reasoning.

Greville's *Letter to an Honourable Lady* is an epistle of purely philosophical import. It expresses by means of concrete illustrations the subtlety of Greville's introspective mind. The illustrations are metaphors so ingeniously conceived and cleverly interwoven that they become the very fabric of the prose. The metaphors are based on perceptual images, but invariably they are linked with an abstract concept in such a way as to lead the reader away from reality into pure speculation. The following excerpt is typical in that the point of the

last phrase, "the Child and Mother of Labour," is so baffling that one is drawn involuntarily into speculative philosophy.

And in that bottomlesse pit of humours shall
we not finde deceit as infinite as desire,
Honour but the throne of Care, Prosperity
both the Child and Mother of Labour?
Works, Vol. IV, p. 258.

Even when the underlying idea is not particularly abstruse, metaphor veils it instead of giving it lucidity.

. . . helping to drowne our superiours in
the inundation of their own follies, and make
their thrones a grange wherein there shall be
nothing but selling honour to purchase scorn
abroad, and servile fears at home. *Works*,
Vol. IV, p. 250.

The following quotation shows excellently well the interweaving of several figures and the intricate thinking which such a device engenders. Greville discusses divine power and human power and contrasts the "authors" of these two types of power.

For as the two authors differ in the disproportion of infinite good and finite evil; so doe their workings within us. The one makes faith a wisdom the other infidelitie a freedom; the one giving abilitie to walke over the deep sea of God's commandments, which while they seem impossible prove easie, the other drawing weake faith in the shallow dewes of mistrust, vanity, etc. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 263.

The bases of some of Greville's comparisons are indeed homely and commonplace enough, but even these are linked to the intangible, and the association causes the familiar to give way before an element which is aloof from ordinary experience.

Againe, if you will needs corrupt yourselfe
to make the line you levell by more crooked,
then must your first step be over your shoes
in shame. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 252.

The following, too, has a homely wit, but it is by no means as innocent as it at first appears to be.

I even now see your face blush while your thoughts tell me that your lords affections have so many vents, as there is no danger of breaking the vessel with fulnesse. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 250.

Occasionally, however, the figures become simpler. The following is suggestive of Bacon's use of horticulture.

But learn to know for your owne ease that every man, though he would, yet cannot become excellently evill at once; since both weeds and herbs are more or lesse perfect in their kinds; according to the temper of earth and ayer wherein they grow. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 276.

Although the *Life of Sidney* was written for a different purpose from that which prompted Greville to write the *Letter to an Honourable Lady*, nevertheless the use of the figurative language is practically the same. Thus whether expressing a philosophical disquisition or defending the policies of Queen Elizabeth, Greville finds metaphor a favorite device. Through metaphor his style becomes uniform; to write metaphorically is, indeed, a part of the man. The two excerpts which follow show how comparison becomes the very backbone of his prose. In the first quotation he refers to revising his *Declination of Monarchy*.

But the familiar self love, which is more or lesse born in every man, to live and dye with him, presently moved me to take up this bear-whelp again and licke it. Wherein, rowling my spirittes under the banner of this flattery, went about—as a fond mother—to put on richer garments, in hope to adorne them. But while these clothes were in making, I perceive that cost would draw more curious eyes to observe deformities. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 153.

With humble sayles after I had ventured once upon the spreading ocean of images, my apprehensive youth, for lack of a well touch-

ed compasse, did easily wander beyond proportion. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 151.

In writing of affairs of state or in a mere eulogy of Queen Elizabeth the same intricate network of figures is maintained.

When on the other side, the Spanish king, beholding these remisse homages of frailty, with the unthankful and unsatiable eyes of ambition, apprehends these petty sacrifices as fit straws, sticks, or feathers to be pull'd out of faint wings, for the building up and adorning of a conquerors nest. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 166.

Yet was shee as careful not to permit any aristocratical cloud or pillar to shew or shadow forth suspicious, or false lights between her and her people. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

Donne's style is intricate and elaborate. His *Letters* reveal the fact that even in matters where one would expect clear-cut terseness and direct simplicity the expression becomes circuitous. His mind is easily deviated from a straight course, and as it wanders and ramifies, it embraces so much that its reflection in the written word becomes involved and even blurred. A figure in Donne's hands will obscure a mere gallant compliment.

The following figure is typical of Donne's indirectness of expression in dealing with an idea which is in itself rather simple.

Not that the greatest virtue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal as to defeat or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themselves, when better comes, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 166.

The following example also reveals Donne's round-about way of expressing himself.

This emptiness in London dignifies any letter from hence, as, in the seasons, earliness and lateness makes the sourness and (after) the

sweetness of fruits acceptable and gracious.⁸
Life and Letters, Vol. I, p. 188.

His use of illustrative figures seems undoubtedly to be an accompaniment to his comprehensive thinking, and the result is extraordinary elaborateness combined with extraordinary compactness. For each part of the elaboration has a significant meaning. Each part contributes something even though the basic idea in itself may be easy enough. Here is a simple idea rendered figuratively, but with the addition of each significant detail of the comparison, the idea becomes more and more involved.

Because I am in a place and season where I see everything bud forth, I must do so too, and vent some of my meditations to you; the rather because all the other buds being yet without taste or virtue, my letters may be like them. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 185.

Here is another instance of Donne's elaboration of a simple idea. The figurative language encompasses the central idea with a wealth of collateral matter of which every detail has a meaning.

Your going away hath made London a dead carcass. A term and a Court do a little spice and embalm it and keep it from putrefaction, but the soul went away in you, and I think the only reason why the plague is somewhat slackened is because the place is dead already. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I p. 234.

Donne's ideas, however, are not always simple. He loves to delve into the realm of mystery and metaphysics, and here too he seems incapable of expressing himself without frequent recourse to metaphorical language. When he is speculating in philosophy he seems naturally disposed to find metaphorical conceits appropriate to his musings, and the metaphor more often than not introduces an enigmatical quality, which in all probability he chose not to avoid. Comparison enhances Donne's natural inclination toward obscurity. The following sentence in which he describes the persistent presence of sins is typical.

8. The punctuation of this and a few other passages has been altered for the sake of clarity.

They inn not, but dwell in me, and see themselves so welcome and find in me so good bad company of one another, that they will not change. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 186.

A significant fact, however, must here be emphasized. When Donne is most earnest his language and his figures become less complex and involved, and consequently his style becomes more direct. The following use of vegetation, navigation, and human disease is straightforward, and the result is a style of less crabbedness.

Everything refreshes, and I wither, and I grow older and not better; my strength diminishes, and my load grows; and being to pass more and more storms, I find that I have not only cast out all my ballast which nature and time gives, reason and discretion, and so am as empty and light as vanity can make me; but I have overfraught myself with vice, and so am riddingly subject to two contrary racks, sinking and oversetting, and under the iniquity of such a disease as inforces the patient when he is almost starved, not only to fast, but to purge. *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 185.

In Donne's sermons there are remarkably few passages of crabbed obscurity. When he is primarily interested in bringing his message to the hearts of his congregation, his style becomes simple, and, too, more eloquent. In this connection his own comment on style is apropos. "The Holy Ghost in penning the Scriptures delights himself, not only with a propriety; but with a delicacy, and harmony and melody of language, with height of metaphors, and other figures, which may work greater impressions upon the readers."⁹ The typical figure of the sermons, then, is one of pungency, designed to make a vivid impression upon the hearer. At the same time it is of a graceful and pleasing turn of phrase. One of these figures is here given.

God shall call up the damp and vapours of hell itselfe and spread a cloud of diffidence and an impenetrable crust of desperation upon my conscience. *Sermons*, p. 9.

9. Smith: *Donne's Sermons*, p. 26.

Frequently, though, his figures are less eloquent than this one, and becoming more homely in their texture, they incline to those which merely "work greater impressions" to the neglect of "delicacy and harmony and melody." Two of this type follow.

Almost all knowledge is rather like a child that is embalmed to make Mummy then that is used to make a man; rather conserved in the status of the first age, then grown to be greater. *Sermons*, p. 94.

A Monarchy will ruine, as a haire will grow gray, of itselfe. *Sermons*, p. 67.

Donne, however, shows in his sermons a great allegiance to the church fathers in his thought and style, and, because of this, the mediaeval figure in Donne's work must be distinguished from the Jacobean. Donne admired the phrasing and the melodious harmony of the early divines, and the fascination for their long analogies, coupled with his natural predilection for conceited thinking, led him at times into far-fetched and fantastic passages. Not infrequently are whole sermons built up on one metaphor, in which "one image is turned and twisted and elaborated and swollen out with figurative moral and mystical meanings, grotesquely adorned with medical analogies and legal jargon, and scholastic quibbles and rabbinical speculations."¹⁰ A passage from a sermon built up on a single metaphor follows.

THE WORLD A HOUSE

Let the whole world be in thy consideration as one house, and then consider it that, in the peacefull harmony of creatures, in the peacefull succession, and connexion of causes and effects, the peace of Nature. Let this Kingdome, where God hath blessed thee with a being, be the Gallery, the best roome of that house, and consider in the two walls of that Gallery, the Church and the State, the peace of a royall, and a religious Wisedome; Let thine owne family be a Cabinet in this Gallery, and finde in all the boxes thereof, in the severall duties of Wife, and Children, and servants, the peace of vertue, and of the

10. Smith: *Donne's Sermons*, p. xxx.

father and mother of all vertues, active discretion, passive obedience; and then lastly, let thine owne bosome be the secret box, and reserve, in this Cabinet; and then the best Jewell in the best Cabinet, and that in the best Gallery of the best house that can be had, peace with the Creature, peace in the Church, peace in the State, peace in thy house, peace in thy heart, is a faire Modell, and a lovely designe even of the heavenly Jerusalem which is *Visio pacis*, where there is no object but peace. *Sermons*, p. 71.

It becomes obvious after only a casual scrutiny that comparisons permeate the styles of Greville and Donne. They are so ultimately a part of their prose that their presence is seemingly indispensable. They clothe perfectly the peculiarly styled thinking of these two men. The comparisons do not have the appearance of practicality which distinguishes Bacon's figures, but being more abstract, they serve as a vehicle for intellects which think not only through an idea but all around it as well. It is in comparison that the character of the thinking of Greville and Donne is revealed.

Hall, Felltham, and Fuller

The comparisons which have thus far been displayed have been those which to a greater or lesser degree produce an effect of subtlety. But prose of a dark significance and deliberate obscurity comprises but one half of Jacobean prose. There is a group of Attic writers who emphasize clarity. Their prose is terse and sententious, but its end is to present an idea with lucidity. The comparisons employed by these writers are just as fresh and just as ingeniously wrought as those which have been exhibited, but their use is for brevity and clearness of illustration; and, as a result of this objective, their effect is the reverse of that of the former group. They serve not to obscure but to elucidate.

Joseph Hall, Owen Felltham, and Robert Fuller are alike in that they make use of figures of speech for the sake of gaining economy of phrase and elucidation; they are akin, too, in furnishing the best representation in English of Seneca's style.

Hall was referred to pretty generally as the English Seneca.¹¹ Indeed, Hall's style does exhibit rather perfectly the traits of the philosopher of the "Silver Age." The broken period appears, many times built up by antitheses, each item of the whole so complete in itself that connectives are often omitted. An idea develops through three or four sentences, each saying the same thing over, yet with each repetition a new effect is produced. Obviously these traits are typically Senecan. Furthermore, Hall himself expresses his allegiance to Seneca in Section I of *Heaven and Earth* by the following remark . "As he was, this he hath gained :—never any heathen wrote more divinely, never any philosopher more probably. Neither would I ever desire better master, if to this purpose I needed no other mistress than nature."

It would be logical to expect that the comparisons of Seneca and Hall would have much in common, and, indeed, the expectation is borne out in fact. Like Seneca's figures Hall's are fresh and apt, with a touch of wittiness, but their evident object is clarity. The following passage is typical of Hall's use of Senecan style and figurative language. The same idea is repeated in varied lights; connectives are omitted. Figures are interwoven throughout the passage, but although they are bright and forceful, they are not particularly penetrating or saturated in thought as, for instance, a typical figure from Wotton might be.

I have seldom seen the son of an excellent and famous man excellent. But that an ill bird hath an ill egg is not rare—children possessing, as bodily diseases, so the vices of the parents. Virtue is not propagated; vice is, even in them which have it not reigning in themselves. The grain is sown pure, but comes up with chaff and husk. Holy Observations," IV. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

There is a touch of homeliness in the following illustrations, but the homeliness does not attract attention to itself nor sway the mind to some subsidiary idea. Instead, it focuses the

11. In a letter to the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge (*Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 370) Wotton speaks of "our spiritual Seneca (you know whom I mean)". Fuller (*Works*, Vol. II, p. 230, London, 1840) quotes the passage as applied to Hall. "He was commonly called our English Seneca for the pureness, plainness, and freshness of his style."

mind on the central idea. Comparisons of this sort make assertions terse and expressive, but only mildly penetrative. Their wit might recall some of Wotton's comparisons, but on the whole they convey a more obvious significance.

I dare not willingly suffer my penne to wade into questions; yet this argument seemes shallowe enough for an epistle. "Epistles," II, 8. *Works*, Vol. VI.

I am a stranger even at home; therefore if the dogs of the world bark at me, I neither care nor wonder. "Meditations and Vows," I, 14. *Works*. Vol. VIII.

Both his eyes are never at once from home, but one keeps house while the other roves abroad for intelligence. "The Wise Man" in *Characters of Virtues*. *Works*, Vol. VI.

No worldly pleasure hath any absolute delight in it, but as a bee—having honey in the mouth, hath a sting in the tail. "Meditations and Vows," II, 16. *Works*, Vol. VIII.

Much the same can be said for Felltham. He is a popular moralist; he writes for a comparatively large audience, not for the initiated few; his stylistic aim is clarity. He is perhaps even more aphoristic than Hall, but, like Hall, he develops whole paragraphs by shifting one idea in such a way as to throw varying lights upon it. His prose is a network of figures, sometimes terse, sometimes sustained, and he has the happy faculty of securing vividness by a discriminating choice of verbs. Not infrequently a paragraph will contain a medley of comparisons, as if new slants upon an idea suggested new illustrations. The following excerpt exhibits Felltham's use of the verb, and it is also very representative of the way in which an illustration can be effectively sustained.

Learning is like a river, whose head being far in the land, is, at first rising, little, and easily viewed; but, still, as you go, it gapeth with a wider bank; not without pleasure and delightful winding; while it is on both sides set with trees, and the beauties of various flowers. But still the further you follow it, the deeper and broader it is; till at last, it in-

waves itself in the unfathomed ocean; there you see more water, but no shore, no end of that liquid fluid vastness. *Resolves*, p. 81.

This figure is not contrived for embellishment; nor is it the mere dilation of a single point. Each detail of the comparison contributes something new. The reader is allowed, after the first sentence, to make his own application, but the illustration does not at any point present any particular subtlety. It is a first-hand comparison, originally conceived, and its effect is clarity. The following passage obtains a similar result from a medley of figures. The use of the expressive verb may here also be seen.

What a skein or ruffled silk is the uncomposed man. Everything that but offers to even him, intangles him more, as if, while you unbend him one way, he warpeth the other. He cannot but meet with variety of occasions, and every one of these intertwines him in deeper trouble. His ways are strewn with briars, and he bustles himself into his own confusion. Like a partridge in a net, he masks himself the more, by the anger of his fluttering wing. Certainly, a good resolution is the most fortifying armour that a discreet man can wear. That can defend him against all the unwelcome shuffles that the poor rude world puts on him. Without this, like hot iron, he hisses at every drop that finds him. *Resolves*, p. 3.

The shorter figures of Felltham are of the same character as those of Hall, but, as a general rule, they lack Hall's sparkle of wit.

A word reasonably given, like a rudder, sometimes steers a man quite into another course. *Resolves*, p. 19.

Love is never lasting, that flames before it burns, and hate, like wetted coals, throws a fiercer heat when fire gets the mastery. *Resolves*, p. 6.

But in the beginning it [sudden prosperity] falls like much rain as soon as the seed is

sown; which does rather wash it away than gives it a moderate rooting. *Resolves*, p. 2.

The prose of Fuller's *Holy and Profane States* is not different from that of Hall or Felltham in its temper and ends. Fuller, like them, works for clarity, precision, and sharpness of outline; but Fuller wants his comparisons to be felt. With Fuller the figure becomes a sort of enjoyable game. He employs a natural cleverness in the formation of his illustrations and succeeds in fabricating a veritable host of comparisons drawn from the most homely and trivial of sources. Yet the most lowly of the material out of which his figures spring is infused with a play of wit and a tinge of humor so unmistakably unique that Fuller has become recognized as the master of original figures of speech. The following examples are listed as typical. They are, it will be seen, original and clever, striking because of their homeliness, but, as a rule, not difficult of comprehension.

Some think their conceits, like mustard, not good except they bite. *Holy State*, p. 187.

. . . yet he that impoverishes his children to enrich his widow, destroys a quick hedge to make a dead one. *Holy State*, p. 39.

Even fasting itself is meat and drink to him [the hypocrite] whilst others behold it. *Profane State*, p. 296.

I should suspect his [the faithful minister's] preaching had no salt in it, if no galled horse did wince. *Holy State*, p. 80.

As for outward estates, he [the faithful minister] commonly lives in too barren a pasture to die fat. *Holy State*, p. 89.

Commonly, physicians, like beer, are best when they are old; and lawyers, like bread, when they are young and new. *Holy State*, p. 71.

He [the good yeoman] improveth his land to a double value by his good husbandry. Some grounds that wept with water, or frowned with thorns, by draining the one and clearing

the other, he makes both to laugh and sing with corn. *Holy State*, p. 120.

God is not so hard a master but that he alloweth his servants sauce (besides hunger) to eat with their meat. *Holy State*, p. 124.

His known perfection he [the wise statesman] seeks modestly to cloud and obscure. It is needless to show the sun shining, which will break out of itself. Not like our fantastics, who, having a fine watch, draw all occasions to draw it out to be seen. *Holy State*, p. 184.

And just it is with God, that they [those who remain neutral in matters of moment] should be strained in the twist who stand so wide as to set their legs in two opposite sides. Indeed, an upright shoe may fit both feet, but I never saw a glove that would serve both hands. *Holy State*, p. 164.

The clarity at which Hall, Felltham, and Fuller arrived, it must be again observed, is different from the transparency achieved by the preachers of the sixteenth century. Seventeenth century prose is never effusive. Sometimes it is involved, it is true, but this is due to its depth, not in any sense to discursiveness. Sometimes it is clear; sometimes it is obscure; but even at its clearest it is terse and pungent; and it is always colored by the temperament of the writer.

Burton

Some of the figures which have been cited above, particularly those of Fuller, might justly be called whimsical. The term "whimsical," however, has been reserved as best suited to describe the work of Robert Burton. Not only the comparisons of Burton, but Burton's whole style can well be characterized as whimsical. His personality is distinguished by a quizzical and skeptical spirit which pervades his prose and expresses itself best in a kind of banter which may be turned equally well upon the world or upon himself. In an excellent passage of self-criticism Burton not only reveals his spirit and aims, but also provides a statement of his theory of style, sim-

ultaneously illustrating the theory in practise. The style has appropriately been described as "libertine," because it represents a repudiation of all rhetorical dogma. Formal rhetorical principles break down completely; he writes, in spite of his reference to "the wise Seneca," without a pattern, without premeditation, just as ideas come into his mind. He mixes Latin and English phraseology indiscriminately; he breaks off clauses, introduces new ones in violation of all syntactical rules, and weaves continually a fabric of curiously imagined figures of speech throughout his text. The following passage is of sufficient importance to be quoted in full.

I have no such authority, no such benefactors, as that noble Ambrosius was to Origen, allowing him six or seven amanuenses to write out his dictates; I must for that cause do my business myself, and was therefore enforced, as a Bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump, I had not time to lick it into form, as she doth her young ones, but even so to publish it, as it was written, quicquid in buccam venit, in an extemporean style, as I do commonly all other exercises, effudi quicquid dictavit genius meus, out of a confused company of notes, and writ with as small deliberation as I do ordinarily speak, without all affectation of big words, fustian phrases jingling terms, tropes, strong lines, that like Aestes' arrows caught fire as they flew, strains of wit, brave heats, eulogies, hyperbolical exornations, elegancies, etc., which many so affect. I am aquae potor, drink no wine at all, which so much improves our modern wits, a loose, plain, rude writer, fœdum voco fœdum et ligonem ligonem, and as free as loose, idem calamo quod in mente, I call a spade a spade, animis hæc scribo, non auribus, I respect matter not words; remembering that of Cardan, verba propter res, non res propter verba, and seeking with Seneca, quid scribam, non quemadmodum, rather what than how to write. For as Philo thinks, he that is conversant about matter, neglects words, and those that excel in this art of speaking, have no profound learning,

Verba nitent phaleris, at nullus verba
intus habent . . . [medullas

Besides, it was the observation of that wise Seneca, when you see a fellow careful about his words, and neat in his speech, know this for a certainty, that man's mind is busied about toys, there's no solidity in him. Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas; as he said of a nightingale, vox es, praeterea nihil, etc. I am therefore in this point a professed disciple of Apollonious a scholar of Socrates, I neglect phrases, and labour wholly to inform my reader's understanding, not to please his ear; 'tis not my study or intent to compose neatly, which an orator requires, but to express myself readily and plainly as it happens. So that as a River runs, sometimes precipitate and swift, then dull and slow; now muddy, then clear; now broad, then narrow; doth my style flow; now serious, then light; now comical, then satirical; now more elaborate, then remiss, as the present subject required, or as at that time I was affected. And if thou vouchsafe to read this treatise, it shall seem no otherwise to thee than the way to an ordinary Traveller, sometimes fair, sometimes foul; here champaign, there inclosed; barrens in one place, better soil in another; by woods, groves, hills, dales, plains, etc. I shall lead thee per ardua montium, et lubrica vallium, et roseida cespitum, et glebosa camporum, through variety of objects which thou shalt like and surely dislike. *Demonstratus to the Reader*, p. 30.

The comparisons, as those in the above passage show, harmonize with the spirit that characterizes his prose in general. In the following excerpt the wealth of figurative allusion, the Latin intrusion, and the bizarre ending are all very typical.

As ivy doth by an oak, embrace it so long,
until it hath the heart out of it, so do they
[pettifoggers] by such places they inhabit,
no counsel at all, no justice, no speech to be
had, nisi eum praemulseris, he must be fee'd
still, or else he is as mute as a fish, better

open an oyster without a knife. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 92.

The following, too, are in the same spirit:

. . . which Cato counts a great indecorum, to use men like old shoes or broken glass, which are flung to the dunghill. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 69.

To see men led by affection, admired and censured out of opinion without judgment, an inconsiderate multitude, like so many dogs in a village, if one bark, all bark without a cause. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 71.

. . . teach others to fast, and play the gluttons themselves; like watermen, that row way and look another. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 57.

When a Boar is thirsty, he drinks what will serve him, and no more, and when his belly is full, he ceaseth to eat, but men are immoderate in both. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 52.

It is most true, stilus virum arguit, our style bewrays us, and as hunters find their game by the trace, so is a man's genius descried by his works. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 25.

The remaining examples have a touch of skeptical satire. The last is typical of many of Burton's expostulations.

Howsoever it is a kind of policy in these days to prefix a phantastical title to a book which is to be sold. For as Larks come down to a day-net, many vain readers will tarry and stand gazing, like silly passengers, at an antick picture in a painter's shop, that will not look at a judicious piece. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 17.

So he that goes to law, as the proverb is, holds a wolf by the ears, or, as a sheep in a storm runs for shelter to a briar, if he prosecute his cause he is consumed, if he surcease his suit he loseth all; what difference? *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 94.

Nemo in nostra civitate mendicus esto (Let no one in our state be a beggar) saith Plato, he will have them purged from a Commonwealth, as a bad humour from the body, that are like so many ulcers and boils, and must be cured before the melancholy body can be eased. *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 104.

To see sub exuviis leonis onagrum, a filthy loathsome carcass, a Gorgon's head puffed up by parasites, assume this unto himself, glorious titles in worth an infant, a human ass, a painted sepulchre, an Egyptian Temple! *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 66.

As Burton writes in this formless mode, he throws himself open to the charge of verbosity. But it is interesting and significant to note that the verbosity consists largely of figurative language and the figurative language is so intimately related to his personal temperament that it becomes an irreducible factor in his expression. It serves, moreover, as he says, "to inform the reader's understanding, not to please the ear."

Browne

More imaginative and more consciously artistic than any of the figures studied in the foregoing pages are those of Thomas Browne. Browne's style contrasts sharply with the libertinism of Burton. Browne is conscious of a rhetorical pattern. The style is basically Senecan; the paragraphs are built by accretion. But underlying all there is rhythm. Browne's clauses fall into cadences; bipartite phrases and word pairs balance one another. However, not only are the schemes of Ciceronian prose meticulously avoided, but the sharp antithetical structure of Seneca as well. It is rare that the balances are perfect. The balance is secured by suggestion, and it is felt. Word pairs do not always alliterate; a more subtle harmony is secured by an artful variety. Browne's harmony is a delicate harmony produced by a skillful art well concealed.

In the stately flow of his prose he finds use for many comparisons of a quaint and almost poetic character which blend perfectly with the flavor and pattern of his style. Nearly always a figurative illustration exhibits a picturesque imagery.

He is fond of allusion. One of his favorite devices is the use of allusion imaginatively. The following use of allusion is typical.

The vulgarity of those judgments that wrap the church of God in Strabo's cloak, and restrain it unto Europe, seem to me as bad geographers as Alexander, who thought he had conquered the world, when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 81.

The imagery of the following illustration is distinctively characteristic of Browne.

Life is a pure flame, and we live by an invisible sun within us. A small fire sufficeth for life, great flames seemed too little after death, while men vainly affected precious pyres, and to burn like Sardanapalus. *Works*, Vol. III, p. 494.

The following example embodies a picturesque description of the firmament, culminating in a practical application.

Since the stars of heaven do differ in glory; since it hath pleased the Almighty hand to honour the north pole with lights above the south; since there are some stars so bright that they can hardly be looked on, some so dim that they can scarce be seen, and vast numbers not to be seen at all, even by artificial eyes; read thou the earth in heaven, and things below from above. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

The hammer falling first on marble and then on wax bestirs a vivid concept as one reads the following observation.

I have no conscience of marble to resist the hammer of more heavy offences, nor yet too soft and waxen, as to take the impression of each single peccadillo or scape of infirmity. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 101.

The scattering of poppy in connection with the idea of oblivion reveals a poetic imagination which is alive in Browne.

But the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of

men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. *Works*, Vol. III, p. 492.

In *Christian Morals* the figures as a rule are of a more prosaic character. The style, too, as a whole is more aphoristic and less fluid than that found in the other works such as *Religio Medici* or *Hydriotaphia*. The following figure on taking pills is original, but it is more akin to the smartness of Fuller than appropriate to Browne's usual vein.

. . . patient meekness takes injuries like pills, not chewing, but swallowing them down. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 101.

The allusion in this next illustration, however, marks it as Browne's unmistakably.

To strenuous minds there is an inquietude in over quietness; and no labouriousness in labour; and to tread a mile after the slow pace of a snail, or the heavy measures of the lazy of Brasilia, were a most tiring penance and worse than a race of some furlongs at the Olympics. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 76.

Navigation is a favorite source of comparison with Browne. Two figures on navigation follow, the first being of the more practical class typical of those found in *Christian Morals*; the second of the more imaginative class which dominates the *Religio Medici*.

However thy understanding may waver in the theories of true and false, yet fasten the rudder of thy will, steer straight unto good and fall not foul on evil. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 66.

Yet I have not so shaken hands with those desperate resolutions who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be new-trimmed in the dock. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 67.

Enough has now been shown, it is believed, to indicate that these prominent writers of Jacobean prose use comparisons in a manner suitable to their individual needs. The style of each individual differs just as each personality stands apart

and is distinct. Yet in spite of individual variations both in their quality and in their use, the comparisons of these writers are similar enough to be placed in the same general category. Whether the comparisons are homely or artistic, witty or prosaic, abstruse or clear, all are alike in that they are conceived for the purpose of bearing the weight of thought; all are wrought from original sources; all are an index to the intellectual activity of the age; and all abet a prose style which in general is characteristic of the new century.

It is true that the style of the Jacobeans may seem to some ears harsh and rigid, and, except as it fell into the hands of a master like Browne, it may be conceded that it fails to possess the charm of limpid smoothness. It remained for the eighteenth century artist to discover grace and ease. Later writers of the seventeenth century, including Dryden, are purely transitional figures; it is Swift, Addison, Steele, and Defoe who were to fashion a familiar prose of gradually unfolding thoughts. Yet however facile it becomes, the comparison is never lost. The Jacobean comparison descends as a heritage to modern prose. The kinship to the Jacobean comparison in Lamb's "young Africans of our own growth—those almost clergy imps, who sport their cloth without assumption" is unmistakable. It is incontrovertible, furthermore, that the illumination and pungency of Stevenson's dictum in *El Dorado* are due to the apt comparisons: "Happily we all shoot at the moon with ineffectual arrows; our hopes are set on inaccessible El Dorado; . . . Interests are only plucked up to sow themselves again, like mustard."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of this paper the writer has found the following books and articles useful. No claim is made for exhaustiveness, nor has any attempt been made to procure either earliest or latest editions of the various works.

Aristotle: *Rhetoric*. Translated by R. C. Jebb. Ed. J. E. Sandys. Cambridge, 1909.

Ascham, Roger: *Works*, 4 vols. Ed. J. A. Giles. London, 1864-65.

Bacon, Francis: *Works*, 15 vols. Ed. Spedding, Ellis, Heath. Boston, 1860.

Bouhours, D.: *Entretien d'Ariste et d'Eugène*. Intro. and notes by René Radouant. Paris, 1920.

Brinsley, John: *Ludus Literarius or The Grammar Schoole*. Ed. E. T. Campagnac. Liverpool and London, 1917.

Browne, Sir Thomas: *Works*, 4 vols. Ed. S. Wilkin. London, 1835-36.

Burton, Robert: *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3 vols. Ed. A. R. Shilleto. London, 1893.

Castiglione, Count Baldassare: *The Courtier*. Translated by Thomas Hoby. Tudor Translations, London, 1900.

Clark, A. C.: *Ciceronianism in English Literature and the Classics*. Oxford, 1912.

Courbaud, E.: *Les Procédés d'Art de Tacite dans les "Histoires."* Paris, 1918.

Cox, Leonard: *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke*. Ed. F. I. Carpenter. Chicago, 1895.

Croll, Morris W.: *Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century*. Studies in Philology, Vol. XVIII (April, 1921).

Croll, Morris W.: *Muret and the History of Attic Prose*. Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. XXXIX (June, 1924).

- Croll, Morris W.: *Attic Prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon. Schelling Anniversary Papers.* New York, 1923.
- Donne, John: *Life and Letters*, 2 vols. Edmund Gosse. New York, 1899.
- Donne, John: *Sermons. Selected Passages.* L. P. Smith. Oxford, 1919.
- Einstein, L.: *The Italian Renaissance in England.* New York, 1902.
- Elyot, Thomas: *The Boke Named the Governour.* Everyman Library, New York, 1907.
- English, Thomas H.: *The Literature of the Stoic Revival.* Princeton Thesis, 1924 (Not yet published).
- Felltham, Owen: *Resolves: Divine, Morall. and Politicall.* Temple Classics. London, 1904.
- Fuller, Thomas: *Holy and Profane States.* Boston, 1865.
- Gosse, Edmund: *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols. New York, 1899.
- Gracian, Lorenzo: *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*, 2 vols. Verdussen, 1669.
- Greville, Fulke (Lord Brooke): *Works*, 4 vols. Ed. A. B. Grosart. Fuller Worthies Library, 1870.
- Grierson, H. J. C.: *The First Half of the Seventeenth Century.* New York, 1906.
- Gummere, R. M.: *Seneca the Philosopher and His Modern Message.* Boston, 1922.
- Halm, K. F.: *Rhetores Latini Minores.* Leipzig, 1863.
- Hall, Bishop Joseph: *Works*, 12 vols. Oxford, 1837.
- Hendrickson, G. L.: *The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters.* American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXV.

- Hendrickson, G. L.: *The Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style*. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI.
- Jonson, Ben: *Timber, or Discoveries*. Ed. M. Castelain. Paris, 1906.
- Krapp, G. P.: *The Rise of English Literary Prose*. New York, 1915.
- Lanson, Gustav: *L'Art de la Prose*. Paris, 1908.
- Latimer, Hugh: *Sermons*. Arber's Reprints, Vols. 2 and 5. London, 1868-69.
- Leach, A. F.: *English Schools at the Reformation*. Westminster, 1896.
- Lever, Thomas: *Sermons*. Arber's Reprints, Vol. 3. London, 1870.
- Lyly, John: *Euphues*. Ed. M. W. Croll and H. Clemons. London, 1916.
- Merchant, F. I.: *Seneca the Philosopher and His Theory of Style*. American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXVI.
- Montaigne, Michel de: *Essays*. Translated by J. Florio. Tudor Translations. London, 1892.
- Nisard, D.: *Histoire de la Litterature Francaise*, 4 vols. Paris, 1867.
- Norden, E.: *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1898.
- Norton, Grace: *Studies in Montaigne*. New York, 1904.
- Puttenham, G.: *The Arte of English Poesy*. Arber's Reprints, Vol. 7. London, 1869.
- Ruffin, J. N.: *Forms of Oratorical Expression and Their Delivery*. London, 1920.
- Sandys, J. E.: *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*. Cambridge, 1905.
- Schelling, F. E.: *English Literature During the Lifetime of Shakespeare*. New York, 1910.

- Scott, Izora: *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero*. Columbia Thesis, 1910.
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus: *Epistulae Morales*, 2 vols. Ed. R. M. Gummere. Loeb Classical Library. London and New York, 1917-20.
- Sidney, Sir Philip: *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*. Ed. Albert Feuillerat. Cambridge, 1922.
- Smith, C. S.: *Metaphor and Comparison in Epistulae ad Lucilium of L. Annaeus Seneca*, Johns Hopkins Thesis, 1906.
- Smith, L. P.: *Donne's Sermons. Selected Passages*. Oxford, 1919.
- Smith, L. P.: *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols. Oxford, 1907.
- Steyns, D.: *Etude sur Les Metaphores et Les Comparaisons dans les Oeuvres en Prose de Sénèque le Philosophe*. Gand, 1907.
- Stowe, A. R. M.: *English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Elizabeth*. Columbia Thesis, 1906.
- Strowski, F.: *Pascal et Son Temps*, 2 vols. Paris, 1907.
- Tacitus, Cornelius: *Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*. Ed. W. Peterson and M. Hutton. Loeb Classical Library. London and New York, 1914.
- Taylor, Hannis: *Cicero: A Sketch of His Life and Works*. Chicago, 1918.
- Taylor, H. O.: *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. New York, 1920.
- Villey-Desmeserets, P. L. J.: *Les Sources et L'Evolution des Essais de Montaigne*, 2 Vols. Paris, 1912.
- Watson, Foster: *English Grammar Schools to 1660*. Cambridge, 1908.
- Wilson, Thomas: *The Arte of Rhetorique*. Ed. G. H. Mair. Oxford, 1909.

- Wotton, Sir Henry: *Life and Letters*, 2 vols. L. P. Smith.
Oxford, 1907.
- Wotton, Sir Henry: *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, Ed. Izaak Walton,
4th edition. London, 1685.
- Woodward, W. H.: *Studies in Education During the Renaissance*. Cambridge, 1906.
- Zielinski, J.: *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*..... Leipzig,
1908.

